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THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN BULGARIAN CHARMS IN THE CONTEXT OF COMPILATION: QUESTIONS AND PATTERNS

SVETLANA TSONKOVA

ABSTRACT

The medieval end early modern Bulgarian charms are important cultural phenomena. In a broader cultural context, they are part of the complex processes of transmission and compilation of manuscripts with various contents, based on specific organizing principles. While the diversity and the variation of the charms are clearly manifested, the factors and the actors contributing for the creation of manuscripts with compilative character are much more difficult to be identified. However, a look at concrete examples reveals some specific patterns. Thus, not only the charms can be positioned in the transmission and compilation milieu of the manuscripts, but also the manuscripts and their content can be regarded in the broader cultural contexts of daily life, and of applications of verbal magic for quotidian needs in quotidian environment.

Keywords: Verbal Magic, Medieval Charms, Medieval Popular Religion, Culture of Compilation, Miscellanea as Cultural Phenomena.

INTRODUCTION

The medieval and early modern Bulgarian verbal magic is a rich and diverse field. Being a central element in this field, the medieval and early modern Bulgarian charms share this complex nature. The source material for my study consists of such charms, preserved on amulets (dated from ninth/tenth to fourteenth century)[1] and in manuscripts (dated from fourteenth to nineteenth century)[2]. They existed in a multifaceted and multileveled environment and were part of various processes: composition, compilation, translation, transmission, usage, application, adaptation, intermingling, continuation, distortion and oblivion, to mention a few. Additionally, there is the supernatural sphere, the human sphere, the quotidian

[1] Popkonstantinov 1994: 39–40.
[2] Petkanova 1981: passim.

sphere, the practical sphere, the sphere of written and oral texts, etc. Therefore, we should speak not of one, but of many, multiple and various contexts, levels and processes.

The examination of the dynamics and the interconnections of these contexts, processes and surrounding milieus is of primary importance for the deep understanding of charms as cultural phenomena. However, as Lotte Tarkka aptly points out, "The main problem with the notion of context is that context is in itself not a homogenic and unproblematic background, a given reality: it consists also of different cultural processes, different discourses, a multitude of things happening simultaneously or sequentially. Furthermore, the textualization of the culture as a whole into ethnographic accounts and descriptions of multiple contexts blurs the boundary between text, context and what could be called a meta-text: the presentation of the whole in manuscripts and secondary literature"[3]. This is very much true for verbal magic and its contexts. The charms' surrounding milieus are not only extremely complex, but also very elusive. As T.M. Smallwood points about his Middle English textual examples: "It is often hard to 'place' a charm by its context..."[4] Here I would add that also it is often hard to *place* a manuscript or amulet with charms by their context.

Therefore, when approaching the manuscripts (and their content of verbal magic and charms) within a particular process and context (in this case, this is the context of compilation), we face certain specific questions, which I shall address here[5]. Usually, the majority of the extant medieval and early modern Bulgarian charms are to be found in Orthodox Christian religious books: priest's service books (*служебници/sluzhebnitsi*) and books of occasional prayers (*требници/trebnitsi*). The charms can also be found in miscellanies (*сборници/sbornitsi*) and healing books (*лековници/lekovnitsi*)[6]. The aim of this article is to track and outline the patterns of the context of compilation, which shaped these manuscripts and their content. The main obstacle to be kept in mind here is that we can only work with the source materials that survived. It can only be guessed what the actual medieval and early modern verbal magic situation was. The fullness of the picture and the depth of the evidence, provided by the extant source materials, is debatable too. The answers to the specific questions about compilation depend primarily on these surving sources, with all their potential and limitations, and then on the contextualization and the scholarly interpretations of the data. Therefore, ultimate full answers are not available or possible. However, it is possible and important to look at the sources from various perspectives and to explore both the evidences and the lacunae.

[3] Tarkka 1993: 178.

[4] Smallwood 2004: 12.

[5] These questions were raised, clarified and discussed in a series of personal talks with Richard Kieckhefer, to whom I am indebted for the inspiration and the beneficial remarks.

[6] Petkanova 1981: 40–44.

ORGANIZING THE COMPILATIONS

It is important to clarify what is the organizing principle of the compilations examined here. Are they arranged according to the functions of the words of power, according to their form, or according to the procedures and the paraphernalia applied? In other words, why certain prayers or charms are gathered together, in a written form?

As it was said above, usually the Bulgarian charms are found in Orthodox Christian religious books. On the one hand, the general content of each of these books is united under certain religious purposes, being specialized literature for priests or devotional literature for lay people. On the other hand, this content is often diverse and various. First, let us look at concrete examples. The first one is *Требник* (Trebnik, seventeenth century, NBKM № 622)[7]. The manuscript contains the Akathist hymn dedicated to the Mother of God; fifty-three prayers and charms which are to be read or uttered at various occasions: celebration of church feasts, birth giving, baptism, marriage, confession, harvest, for curing different illnesses, when building and blessing a new house, when making a new well, for purifying food vessels, for protection against different illnesses, for protection against the Devil; canonical and non-canonical formulae for exorcising the Devil; blessings for good health; commemorative lists of people. Among the prayers, we can see a number of charms, the most prominent of which are the twelve texts against the *nezhit*[8], grouped together under the title *Prayers about the Cursed Nezhit*. They are preceded by another charm for an ill person and are followed by a prayer for blessing of a new well.

The second example is *Никетово молитвениче* (Niketovo molitveniche, 1787, NBKM № 646)[9]. This manuscript contains a drawing of a cross; prayers against fear, sword, arrows, bewitchment; list of the names of Virgin Mary; list of the names of the archangles; prayers and charms against illnesses, unclean powers, the Devil, the nezhit, storm and wind, thunder, lightning; prayers and charms for good luck at the court of law and when traveling; list of the names of God; a charm for killing the enemy; five seals to be worn like amulets against nocturnal fear, wind and witch, and for good luck in traveling and when going to a superior; part from the apocrypha *Камък падна* (Kamuk padna).

The third example is *Сборник* (Sbornik, fifteenth/sixteenth century, NBKM № 308)[10], whose content includes: orthography rules, recipes for ink, parts of the vitae of St. George and St. Alexis, birth-giving prayers, divinatory texts (*трепетник, гръмовник, лунник*), charm against rabid dog bite, prayers for successful fishing,

[7] Tsonev 1923: 132–138. This publication includes all the twelve charms against the *nezhit* available in the manuscript.

[8] Personification of different health afflictions, especially migraine and tooth ache.

[9] Tsonev 1923: 161–166.

[10] Tsonev 1910: 252–254.

blood-staunching charm, charm against hard rain and charm against nezhit to be written on lead.

The forth example is *Сборниче с апокрифни молитви* (Sborniche s apokrifni molitvi, seventeenth century, NBKM № 273)[11], which contains: drawings of three crosses, accompanied by the explanations of their apotropaic amuletic powers; list of the 72 names of the Lord; lists of the names of the Mother of God, of the archangels, of John the Baptist and of the apostles, all of them them to be worn like amulets; the first chapters of the four gospels; fourteen *страшни молитви* (strashmi molitvi/horrible prayers) of archangel Michael against plague, witch, storm, wind; of St. Peter and Paul against the Devil, plague, witch, storm and wind; of St. Nicholas against evil wind and witch; of St. Paul against evil; of St. George for good luck at war, when traveling and when going at the court of low; five prayers when appearing in front of the king or other superior; two charms against sword and arrow; a prayer for before traveling; charms against thunder; against cramps and nezhit; prayers and charms against plague, vampire, wolves' attacks on the cattle, beast and bandits, and for protection of vineyards, fields and barns; twelve seals of king Solomon to be worn when going into battle, for the love of God, against magic, for the court of law, against plague, bewitchment, for traveling, against arrow and sword, for successful trade, against strom and wind, against serious illnesses, against evil encounter, against vampire and female malice.

The list can be continued with a number of other examples, like *Зайковски требник* (Zaykovski trebnik, fourteenth century, NBKM № 960), *Псалтир* (Psalmir 1479, NBKM № 6), *Служебник с требник* (Sluzhebnik s trebnik, sixteenth century, NBKM № 257), *Требник* (Trebnik,sixteenth century, NBKM № 616), *Часослов* (Chasoslov, seventeenth century, NBKM № 631), *Часослов с последования* (Chasoslov s posledovania,1744, NBKM № 1391), *Требник* (Trebnik, 1839, NBKM № 1386), etc., to mention a few[12].

Clearly, all these manuscripts are focused on practical purposes. The texts inside have benedictory and apotropaic functions: to bless, to sanctify, to purify, to expell the evil, to protect and to cure. In my opinion, the function is the main organizing principle and reason of the manuscripts. These books belong to religious literature, but they are also *Fachliteratur*. The content consists of texts and words of power, which have to accomplish certain functions, mainly benedictory, supplicatory, and apotropaic ones. Prayers and charms and borderline cases, the words and texts of power are gathered together in a written form because of their effectiveness in providing supernatural help and support in an important or critical situation[13]. No matter if the content is canonical or non-canonical, it is

[11] Tsonev 1910: 147–175.

[12] Of course, the full list of medieval and early modern manuscritpts with charms is much longer. The ones quoted here are chosen to illustrate the process and context of compilation.

[13] Shnitter 2001: passim.

impossible to separate the compilations from the functions of their content. The compilations exist because of these functions. The books contain, preserve and transmit the words and texts of power (canonical and non-canonical ones) as practical instruments for communicating with the supernatural.

The charms, the prayers and the bordeline cases are important instruments to cope with a crisis situation. Giving an example with a charm for curing a cow, Ulrika Wolf-Knuts points out: "the content of the charm was constructed in order to correspond to the needs of a certain situation in human life and the components were taken from several spheres, culturally inherited as well as self-experienced. We must assume that charms were used in critical existentially important situations where the person who utilized the text referred to his or her own environment"[14]. A crisis could put at a great risk the economic wellbeing and the physical existence of a rural household. Therefore, the inhabitants have two choices: to give in, or to counteract the difficult situation. The use of charms means "to oppose the powers that cause the crisis and try to thwart them. Saying a charm would be one of several ways of coping with the dangerous situation." As "Coping is a cultural, socially anchored, repetitive activity that opens a person's eyes to new opportunities in time of distress"[15], then the books with charms are central element of this system of counteracting.

Therefore, the words and texts of power are an essential part of the crisis rites. In the framework of verbal magic, the charms and the prayers can be regarded as the last and the strongest defense against the disaster, the illness or the evil. They are the most powerful resort to cope with the critical situation, they are the culmination of all the efforts to influence and change reality. The contact with the Other World very often means a crisis. The interaction with the supernatural agents and forces is very often a battle, and very often an uneven one, especially in the case of health issues. The words of power provide the most effective possible techniques to direct this dialogue and to face such a crisis, and the strongest weapons to lead this battle. In their turn, the manuscripts and the amulets appear as important manuals, preserving and providing the essential information and texts of verbal magic.

DIVERSITY AND VARIATION OF THE CONTENT WITHIN A COMPILATION

The data from the sources show that the compilations tend to include a number of variations on a narrow circle of themes. These themes are: health care, protection against evil and against forces of nature, and porvision of good luck and success. Up to my knowledge, the medieval and early modern Bulgarian verbal magic is predominantly apotropaic, focused on this three topics.

[14] Wolf-Knuts 2009: 62–70.
[15] Ibidem.

Within this general framework, the heath care verbal magic is dealing with the following issues: preservation of good health, prevention of health problems, protection against diseases, afflictions and injuries, and curative treatment and healing of illnesses, traumas, etc., like: snake bite, rabid dog or wolf bite, nezhit, dental pains, hemorrhage, urine detention (at humans and horses), constipation, fever, cramps, spasms, swallowing and festering of horse's leg, and prevention of sudden death (especially by drowning). The preservation of the health is closely connected with the protection against various evil powers and agents. The list includes the Devil, various demons, personifications of different illnesses, evil and malevolent humans, and damaging forces of nature like winds, storms, hard rain, hail, floods and fire. And finally, there is the theme of provision of good luck and success in different human activities. Here the list includes: appearance in the court of law, traveling, bee-keeping, fishing and wine-making.

While the number of topics is rather limited, the texts dedicated on certain problem can vary significantly. The charms against nezhit stand as most prominent example. The twelve texts, gathered together in *Требник* (Trebnik, seventeenth century, NBKM № 622) are in fact twelve different charms (encounter and narrative charms, conjuration and expulsion formulae, impossibilia and origin accounts, historiolae and ratifications) which represent twelve different variants for solving the problem[16]. Groups of charms against nezhit can be found also in *Сборниче с апокрифни молитви* (Sborniche s apokrifni molitvi, seventeenth century, NBKM № 273, containing four texts[17]) and *Требник* (Trebnik, 1839, NBKM № 1386, containing five texts[18]). Other manuscripts and amulets contain single charms against the illness[19]. Thus, one single health problem is covered by a substantial number of texts.

The prayers and charms for protection against evil powers represent another example for variability within a narrow theme. Here the variation is expressed through different benevolent supernatural authorities, helping and expelling the evil. For example, *Сборниче с апокрифни молитви* (Sborniche s apokrifni molitvi, seventeenth century, NBKM № 273) provides such defense on behalf of Archangel Michael, St. Peter and Paul and St. Nicholas. Or fevers, witches and the Devil are often expelled by St. Sissinius. Some manuscripts, for example *Никетово молитвениче* (Niketovo molitveniche, 1787, NBKM № 646), put emphasis and hope in the amuletic power of the cross and the seals of king Solomon.

Another example for variation can be seen the charms against snake-bite. Usually, they contain a long list of different names and epithets of the snake. While

[16] Conkova 2010: 101–118.
[17] Tsonev 1910: 174–175.
[18] Hristova 1996: 73–75.
[19] Popkonstantinov 1998: 28–30.

the historiola can vary significantly[20], the list of names remains relatively unchanged and fixed. Thus, these charms have one of the longest and most elaborated expulsion formulae. In my mind, the careful repetition and transmission of the complex charm structure (narrative combined with a list of names) proves the effectiveness, attributed to this text.

In a sum-up, the source material shows repetition of limited themes and rich variation within each theme. If we accept that the extant source materials are representative enough, then the correlation between the small number of topics and the large number of variations could be an indication for the importance of these particular topics. It is remarkable how this particular set of themes and issues is repeated in a number of manuscripts and amulets. The recurrent trio health – protection against evil – good luck is the basis for flourishing variation, especially among the non-canonical texts. The charms show richness of forms and structures, while still treating the same circle of well-known problems again and again.

FACTORS AND ACTORS IN THE PROCESS OF COMPILATION

The process of compilation is interconnected with other cultural processes. The phenomenon of compilation is inseparable from the whole big complex of traditions and practices, which apply and smooth the words of power (both charms and prayers). "Tradition is seen in relation to its user, an individual and a group, and to its arena, the physical environment which moulds cultural and socioeconomic activities"[21]. Here the process of regularization via erosion and sedimentation, when a charm becomes tradition-smoothed, is always active. In a flourishing tradition, there is no decay, only natural variation; "decay, growth and constancy all take place at the same time"[22]. The normative and the remarkable are constantly and dynamically defined and re-defined, resulting in adaptations and variations of the existing charms. "An adaptation of tradition occurs only when it is used for special expressive purposes in specific living situations"[23]. As Lauri Honko summarizes, "flexibility rather than stability seems to be the key to the continuity of tradition, to the kind of 'invariability' typical of oral tradition which prevents variation from going astray and distorting the song or story completely"[24].

This dynamic process is relevant to verbal magic and charms too. The compilations with words of power reflect both the continuity and flexibility of the tradition. The compilations also play a role in the process of transmission. "There is no single model of charm transmission or charm performance suitable as a

[20] The historiola may include snake-bite accidents with apostle Paul, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, or with ordinary people, happening in different combinations and settings. Jatsimirskii 1913: 78–102.

[21] Honko 2000: 17.

[22] Roper 1997: 98.

[23] Honko 1981: 32.

[24] Honko 2000: 4.

description for the entire genre"[25]. The process and nature of the charm transmission do not have clear-cut borderlines. There can be a tight transmission, which is the passing of an oral text from one charmer to another without changes; a loose transmission, which allows deletions and innovations; a forgetful transmission, when sections of the text can be partially or completely lost or affected by cross-contamination by parts of other charms[26]. The tight transmission, however, may include auditory substitution, mishearing, misreading and miscopying.

Another important term here is text fixation, which is "a process by which a multiform oral text is 'fixed' by being written down in a single variant"[27]. Concerning the Bulgarian medieval and early modern material, this situation is quite peculiar. Due to the fragmentation of the data, we do not know all the phases of the process of text fixation. Some of the extant medieval and early modern charms are single variants in the sense that they are the ones that survived. However, there are charms, variants of which can be found on amulets and on manuscripts, separated by several centuries. Judging from the extant sources, the medieval Bulgarian charms had their text fixation in two ways: on amulets (as verbal magic in action) and in manuscripts (as manuals for reference and transmission of the verbal magical information). Of course, this is only a hypothetical statement, based on the surviving data.

The compilations with words of power are artifacts, reflecting one aspect of a living tradition. Other aspects, however, remain elusive and obscure, and the question about the practitioners is among them. Contemporary sources (for example sermons) contain some additional information on the charming tradition and practice. Quotations like the following shed some light on the figures of the practitioners:

"And the priests have false writings in their *Euchologia*, like the bad Penitentials (*Nomokanony*) and the false Prayers for the Fevers. Heretics had distorted the traditions of the Holy Apostles, writing false words to deceive the vulgar; but the Council investigated them and cleansed them and cursed them"[28].

"And in their *Euchologia*, among the Divine Writ, the stupid village priests have false writings – sown by heretics for the destruction of ignorant priests and deacons – thick village manuscripts and bad Penitentials (*Nomokanony*) and the false healing Prayers for the Fevers and for infections and for sickness. And they write fever letters on prosphorae and on apples, because of sickness. All this I done by the ignorant, and they have it from their fathers and forefathers, and they perish

[25] Roper 1997: 98.

[26] Roper 1997: 18, and Vlasova 1972: 196–198.

[27] Roper 1997: 19.

[28] Mathiesen 1995: 162, quoting the Russian source *On the True Books and the False* (О книгах истинных и ложных) from the twelfth century.

in this folly. Heretics had distorted Church and the Canons of the Holy Apostles, writing false words"[29].

Still, the data is far from complete, and the picture remains sketchy. It is uncertain who were the practitioners and the users of the charms, although some conjectures seem more probable then others. Valerie Flint writes that in the Early Middle Ages there is a host of practitioners of magic, they are faceless and nameless, difficult to recover and to be described exactly, but "of an outstanding importance to our appreciation of the rise of magic"[30]. It is difficult to apply this definition to the Bulgarian material and situation. Maybe there was such a host of practitioners of verbal magic, but we only know a few things about them. The role of the clergy appears to be central in the process of compilation of manuscripts, containing charms. As William Francis Ryan points out, Christianity and practices like amulets, divination, pagan and quasi-Christian charms are late importations in Russia through Bulgaria and Serbia. "And it seems clear that the importers were for the most part the minor clergy, who until quite recently could be practitioners in magic and divination among the East and South Slavs, both Orthodox and Catholic, as they could in the West"[31]. In Russia, the Church "despite its official attitudes, was certainly one route for the importation of particular kinds of charms: uncanonical prayers and practices in many cases from fairly early periods of Christianity in the late antique Mediterranean world, with apocryphal motifs and persons and intermixed with pagan elements"[32]. The reason for this is debatable, still practicality is again the most probable explanation. Kazimir Popkonstantinov connects the introduction of the charms in Christian religious books with the daily life needs and practice of the local priests[33]. Maria Shnitter shares a similar opinion[34]. And still, who used the words of power, especially the charms? Only the village priests? The anonymous folk healers? Were all of them practicioners of verbal magic? What is the role of the lay people for the making of the compilations and the addition of the marginal notes? What more can we say about Niketa, whose name is mentioned many times through the whole manuscript of the *Никетово молитвениче* (Niketovo molitveniche)? Did he write the book, did he own it, did he use the words of power in practice...? This side of medieval and early modern verbal magic is still a difficult scholarly terrain.

According to Honko, "while charms and rite formulae could be passed to the next generation of healers, an individually developed cognitive system could not.

[29] Mathiesen 1995: 162–163, quoting is from a fourteen-fifteenth longer redaction of the same text.

[30] Flint 1991: 59.

[31] Ryan 2004: 121.

[32] Ibidem. According to Ryan, the exorcistic charm of St. Sisinnius against the twelve fevers, the charm of St. Paul against snakebite and the charms against the nezhit are some of the examples for such transmission.

[33] Popkonstantinov 1996: 16–18.

[34] Shnitter 2001: passim, especially 40–50.

On the evidence of texts of charms and prayers, little can be deducted about a healer's personal beliefs and code of behaviour. It is, however, possible to identify in the texts the basic symbols of a healer's worldview. Many of these symbols will be much older than the environment in which the healer was active..."[35] If this is to be related to the Bulgarian material, then we seen an interesting picture. The compilations with charms and prayers stand between the canonical and non-canonical, between the clerical and the lay, between the oral and the written. If we can identify a feature of the practitioner's view, this is the need for reliable and effective verbal magical instruments for communication with the supernatural and for protection against its menaces. And the tendency to preserve and transmit the words of power, regarded to be useful and efficient in coping with the quotidian issues, challenges and critical situations.

The interaction between the oral and the written shapes another cultural context. First of all, the clear-cut distinction between orality and literacy is unstable, "as there can be varying degrees of literacy in a community (total illiteracy, functional illiteracy, semi-literacy, occasional literacy, high literacy), and because 'texts' slip in an out of oral tradition, to print, to oral tradition again. Furthermore, many written texts can show signs of their traditional oral roots"[36]. Charms are not only subjects of oral-written-oral-written-etc. transmission, they are par excellence exemplary for such transmission. The compilations with words of power give evidence "of the interplay of the oral and the written and, within each, of casual change and careful repetition"[37].

The notions of oral and written should not be regarded as polarities, connected in a binary opposition. Oral and written are only two of the many possible grades on the cultural scale. "Folklore studies have shown us time and again that oral traditions and texts co-exist in myriad ways. The 'Ethnopoetical' "theory of registers developed by Dell Hymes and his colleagues discards the crudeness of the oral versus written dichotomy in favour of realistically complex explanation in terms of language and speech act"[38].

On the one hand, verbal magic and charms are an oral discourse. "In the far wider reaches of society with no access to professional medical help, desperate recourse to charms would have been all the more likely, and all the more thoroughly oral. Given this unbounded non-literary circulation, when charms do turn up in writing we have every reason to expect corruption, incoherence, reworking and variation of all sorts. If we think of charms as texts, they are not so much *textes mouvants* as *textes courants*"[39]. This oral way is probably the older

[35] Honko 1993: 526.

[36] Roper 1997: 53.

[37] Smallwood 2004: 13.

[38] Roper 1997: 53, quoting J. Foley, "Signs, Texts and Oral Tradition" (*Journal of Folklore Research*, vol. 33, no. 1/1996: 21–29).

[39] Smallwood 2004: 12.

method for transmission of words of power. The oral discourse goes back to very ancient times, beyond memory and written records. When widely represented, it is also connected to the difficulties in finding the original form or the oldest possible variant of a charm. The oral discourse and the oral way of transmission lead to the actual situation, where "There was, then, no Ur-text that one could reasonably hope to recover, however many copies one might find"[40].

On the other hand, charms are subject of written transmission, which is often accompanied by respect "for particular wording, for precise reiteration"[41]. This written evidence and the written way of transmission are unique and of key importance. They should not be neglected or underestimated. "In fact one soon realizes that the written record, far from being universally set down from memory or dictation, is at some periods and in some types of document unlikely to be anything of the sort. Altogether, if we put together these different aspects of the transmission of charms, what we have to expect in studying them is evidence of the interplay of the oral and the written and, within each, of casual change and careful repetition"[42].

This quotation is repeated, because it aptly brings the most important point: the cultural contexts and processes (of compilation, adaptation, transmission, etc.) are field of constant interaction and interplay. This is their core and essence. The medieval and early modern Bulgarian manuscripts with charms and prayers are *textes courants* per se, existing in a dynamic milieu. This environment can be seen also in relation to power. It is a matter of power to achieve a certain effect, power to communicate with the supernatural, power to protect from illness or evil supernatural agent, power to oppose successfully a wide range of threats from both Our World and the Other World. Both the oral and the written forms of the words of power are instruments in service of the practitioner. The manuscripts with charms and prayers are practical manuals, providing the essential verbal magical information, when needed. On the complex power relationship between oral and written, Owen Davies gives an example from early modern England, where "Chapbooks were hardly the most impressive of literary formats, so continental cunning-folk also made written compilations of their contents in more awe-inspiring manuscript books"[43]. There were two major cultural influences on the British cunning-folk: religion and literacy. "For cunning-folk the possession of literacy and literature were crucial, the inference being that when it came to assessing their worth, people placed more emphasis on the acquisition of written knowledge than other sources of magical inspiration"[44].

[40] Ibidem.
[41] Smallwood 2004: 12–13.
[42] Smallwood 2004: 13.
[43] Davies 2007: 176.
[44] Davies 2007: 183.

In a sum, the manuscripts and amulets with words of power "exist in two interactive domains, that of popular oral composition, in which a large number of stock elements can be arranged in a variety of traditional structures at the choice of the appellant or performer, and that of the written spell-book, in which the spell assumes a fixed form and maybe transmitted, or collected, in this form"[45]. In the case of the Bulgarian materials on amulets, the words of power written on the object create the amulet, with all its powers. In the case of the charms in manuscripts, the written form most probably is meant to preserve important information, and also to be used as a reference and reminder device. It is also important where and how are the charms situated in the book and among the other texts. As it was said above, they are often embedded or incorporated integrally in the content of the manuscript. It is difficult to determine of the charms were inserted or intruded in unexpected places. However, there are cases, when the charms seem to be added at a random place, in the margins or at the end of the book. These different categories "suggest different methods of transmission for the charm-copies concerned"[46]. The oddly inserted and intruded charms could come from any source: from memory, from a written source (which in its own turn can be of various content, length, etc.) The integrated and "the 'embedded' charm-copies are of course straightforward examples of written transmission. In the British examples of T.M. Smallwood, the copies of charms found in the innumerable original 'receptaries' must again be examples of written transmission"[47].

PATTERNS

From the above-said, several patterns can be outlined. Firstly, the process of compilation is closely connected with the functions of the texts in the manuscripts. The functional aspect is of primary importance for the shaping and the existence of the books with charms and prayers. The circle of themes is narrow (health-protection against evil-good luck), but inside each topic the charms show variation and diversity.

Secondly, the process of compilation is closely related to the transmission of the type oral-written-oral-written-etc. The written form inside the manuscripts is only one form of existence for the charms. As the data about medieval and early modern Bulgarian charming practices is fragmentary, a comparison with later folklore material can be very instructive.

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[45] Ryan 2004: 116.

[46] Smallwood 2004: 17.

[47] Smallwood 2004: 17. Smallwood's argument is about English collections of charms, where the number of charm-copies and related prescriptions is too big and it is unbelievable that they were only derived from memory or from "an independent unwritten circulation".

Thirdly, as they contain predominantly apotropaic verbal magic, the compilations play important role as instruments in crisis management. The manuscripts with words of power preserve and provide verbal magical tools, which help in solving urgent quotidian challenges and problems. Thus, the books and their content are also power instruments, used in the power communication and power interaction between the human and the supernatural, between Our World and the Other World.

Fourthly, the process of compilation transforms the books as objects. The transformation can reach different depth. It can work through simple addition of notes and marginalia. For example, manuscripts like *Часослов с последования* (Chasoslov s posledovania, 1744, NBKM № 1391)[48] and *Служебник с требник* (Sluzhebnik s trebnik, sixteenth century, NBKM № 257)[49] have otherwise canonical content, but their marginalia contain charms: in the first case this is a variant of the charm against nezhit (Adam had nezhit, gave it to Eve...), in the second case these are charms to cure humans and horses. Or the transformation can go deeper, like in most of the above-quoted manuscripts, where the charms and the borderline cases are included among the canonical prayers as organic parts of the book.

The above-written paragraphs illustrate how specific, and yet interwoven and interrelated the different cultural contexts are. The notion of natural selection in folkloric terms is a good summary for this stage of the discussion: "absence of performance arenas, invalidation of past mythologies, low memorability and other factors acting on a population of charms eliminates those examples less well adapted to their environment. The examples surviving to be passed on would tend to have characteristics with survival value to their offspring and in time the composition of the population would change in adaptation to a changing environment. The characteristics with survival value for verbal charms include memorability and perceived effectivity"[50]. But unlike the living organisms, "charms can undergo transmissible changes in the period between initial reception and eventual transmission onward. Such changes may just be random mutation, but may also be deliberate on the part of the charmer, and the next recipient of the charm could transmit this deliberately altered form."[51] The medieval and early modern Bulgarian compilations containing words of power represent a completed stage in this natural selection, preserving charms with high survival value, namely high effectivity. Thus, these manuscripts have immense survival value in terms of verbal magic and cultural history.

[48] Hristova 1996: 87–89.
[49] Tsonev 1910: 165–166.
[50] Roper 1997: 41.
[51] Roper 1997: 42.

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NASREDDİN HOCA AND TAMERLANE: ENCOUNTERS WITH POWER IN THE TURKISH FOLK TRADITION OF LAUGHTER

NECMI ERDOĞAN

ABSTRACT

The article analyzes a crucial element of the Turkish folk tradition of laughter, the corpus of Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes, in terms of the narrative encounter between the powerful and the powerless. Examining the anecdotes about Tamerlane, it argues that the humorous folk representations of the relation of the common people with power revolve around what de Certeau calls the "art of making do with". Contrary to the argument that he is a colleague of Diogenes the kynic, Nasreddin Hoca does not self-consciously oppose and challenge the power of Tamerlane. He rather strives to cope with it through a wide spectrum of behaviors including avoidance, trickery, simulation, and repartee. Given that the Hoca is a fictional character, such anecdotes are to be taken as narratives of the predominantly evasive stance of the subaltern social classes and groups vis-à-vis the state in the Ottoman Empire. The study also refers to the grotesque imagery embedded in the Turkish folk laughter.

Keywords: Nasreddin Hoca, Turkish folk culture, folk laughter, anecdotes, grotesque, making do with, kynicism.

GROTESQUE IMAGERY IN NASREDDİN HOCA ANECDOTES

Nasreddin Hoca is without doubt the most prominent and beloved comic figure of Turkish folk anecdotes, about whom hundreds of humorous narratives have been told in a vast geographic area – ranging from the Central Asia to the Balkans – and translated into many languages[1]. He is said to have lived in the central Anatolian town of Akşehir and died in 1284; and his alleged tomb is still visited by people. However, even the single fact that in some anecdotes he is depicted together with Tamerlane, the despotic Mongol emperor who invaded Anatolia at the beginning of the 15th century (died in 1405), clearly indicates that he is first and foremost to be taken as a folk narrative character, a product of folk imagination. Nasreddin Hoca appears as a generic figure around whom otherwise

[1] *Hoca* is a honorific title, meaning "teacher", "schoolmaster", imam or preacher; and Nasreddin often figures as a poor imam or preacher.

amorphous and diverse humorous narratives of various origins and stylistic composition, such as anecdotes, proverbial sayings, aphorisms, and witticisms, are juxtaposed. While the earliest Hoca manuscript contains forty-three anecdotes, over the course of centuries, hundreds of humorous anecdotes have been attached to his name and incorporated into the collections. As is noted by Marzolph, the Hoca appears as a point of crystallization of a number of anecdotes originally not connected with his historical or even fictional character[2]. Therefore, a single characterization would fail to encompass the full range of the Hoca's traits as a narrative character[3]. This figure performs a wide variety of narrative functions: fool, trickster, wit, sage, and buffoon. His alternation between the wise man and the fool, the wit and the numbskull, both within and among anecdotes, produces a sense of ambivalence. Mostly he occupies an ambivalent and liminal space betwixt and between folly and wisdom, naïveté and ingenuity, stupidity and sagacity.

Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes in which he encounters Tamerlane deserve special attention in so far as they enable us to understand the Turkish folk representations of the relationship between the low and the high, the weak and the strong, the ruled and the ruler. In this article, I will analyze the corpus of anecdotes in terms of the narrative encounter between the strong and the weak[4]. I will argue that the humorous folk representations of the relation of the common people with power revolves around what de Certeau calls *mètis* or the "art of making do with"; i.e. the ways of using, evading, coping with, and foiling the imposed order[5]. Unable to declare an open warfare against the law of the place, the Hoca makes do with what it provides by means of manipulation, trickery, simulation, disguise, and repartee. Contrary to the argument that he is a colleague of Diogenes the kynic, I will assert that Nasreddin Hoca does not self-consciously oppose and challenge the power of Tamerlane or social norms and conventions. Given that the Hoca is a fictional character, such anecdotes are to be taken as narratives of the predominantly evasive stance of the subaltern social classes and groups vis-à-vis the state in the Ottoman

[2] Marzolph 1996: 492.

[3] Başgöz 1998: 4.

[4] There are numerous editions of Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes available in Turkish. Here I will mainly draw upon Boratav's (1996) and Duman's (2008) editions of the manuscripts and printed collections dating back from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. I will also refer to Burrill's (1970) English translation of the sixteenth century manuscript at the University of Groningen; Barnham's (1923) English translation of the 1909 edition of Bahai's collection, *Lata'if-i Hace Nasreddin*; Gölpınarlı's (1961) contemporary edition, and the English transcriptions of a few oral narratives collected and published in Walker and Uysal (1966) and Karabaş and Bear (1996). Here all references are, wherever possible, made to the numbers assigned to the anecdotes and not pages for the sake of convenience.

[5] de Certeau 1984: xix. For the ancient Greeks, *mètis* "combine(s) flair, wisdom, forethought, subtlety of mind, deception, resourcefulness, vigilance, opportunism, various skills and experience acquired over the years. It is applied in situations which are transient, shifting, disconcerting, and ambiguous, situations which do not lend themselves to precise measurement, exact calculation, or rigorous logic" (Detienne and Vernant 1978: 4).

Empire. My analysis will also refer to the grotesque imagery embedded in the anecdotes.

In Turkey, Nasreddin Hoca has both officially and publicly been exalted and promoted for his sense of humor, wisdom, and tolerance. It is to be underlined here that the high-style appropriation of the anecdotes has led to a gradual transformation of the figure of Nasreddin over centuries from a grotesque fool-trickster to a sympathetic folk philosopher, and recently, to an ambassador of the "Turkish culture". As Boratav notes, a good many anecdotes within the corpus, often the strongest ones, are of an obscene and profane kind and their publishing is virtually forbidden by social mores[6]. Similarly, Marzolph suggests that Nasreddin in oral tradition is "an unrestricted hero, clever and nasty at the same time, sympathetic and drastic in his words and deeds, certainly less domesticated and adapted to officially valid moral standards than in many printed publications"[7].

Most Turkish folklorists tend to ignore the obscenity and coarseness of the Nasreddin Hoca figure[8]. Eliminating or discarding the anecdotes in contradiction with his supposedly pure identity, folklorists such as Sakaoğlu and Kurgan explicitly rule the grotesque ones out of the "genuine" anecdotes simply by saying that they do not suit a wise man of religion[9]. Actually such acts of elimination or suppression are the culmination of a long-standing "refined literary" tendency to cleanse the anecdotes of their grotesque imagery. The contrast between the manuscripts of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the editions of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries already evident in Boratav's and Duman's collections, proves that the attempts at refining, moralizing, and censoring the anecdotes date back to the late period of the Ottoman Empire. Başgöz observes that over the centuries Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes underwent a sea-change in their language and themes[10]. As a result of the influence of the writers of manuscripts educated in religious schools and of the elite listeners, they were cleansed of their coarse and obscene language while the blasphemous ones were either eliminated or modified so as to be in conformity with the orthodox religious credentials.

Not surprising in this respect is the fact that coarse and obscene anecdotes are abundant in the early texts whereas they are minimized in the later ones by means of elimination or modification. Boratav's collection includes roughly 90 coarse anecdotes out of 594, almost all of which are compiled from the early manuscripts and collections and a good many anecdotes (36 out of 76) of the sixteenth century manuscript at the University of Groningen translated by Burrill fall into that category. Whereas Bahai's collection, translated into English by Barnham, almost

[6] Boratav 1983: 295. Also see Duman 2008: 111–28.
[7] Marzolph 1996a: 146–7.
[8] Boratav 1983 and 1996; Marzolph 1993; and Karabaş 1990.
[9] Sakaoğlu 1996 and Kurgan 1974.
[10] Başgöz 1998.

totally excludes them, there are only a few of them in Gölpınarlı[11]. Henceforth, it is to be kept in mind that the following brief description of the grotesque imagery in the corpus largely draws upon the early texts.

From the Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes to the shadow theatre, the Turkish folk tradition of laughter is indeed woven by a grotesque imagery. As is analyzed by Bakhtin in his analysis of Rabelais and Medieval European folk laughter, grotesque imagery is based on the degradation or lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, and abstract[12]. Parodying high spiritual values and mocking authority, it turns the world inside out and inscribes the indivisible wholeness and positivity of the human body through the images of copulation, defecation, eating, birth and death, etc. The Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes, especially the early texts, are marked by the images of material bodily lower stratum (i.e. the lower parts and orifices of the human body including phallus, testicles, and vulva). He frequently sports his phallus, and is much preoccupied with it. For example, after copulating with his donkey, he sunbathes with his bare penis; and when a fellow reproves him, he replies: "Shall I cover my moist penis and let it turn moldy?"[13]. Bakhtin observes that the image of the monastic belfry or tower is the grotesque symbol of the phallus, being linked to the material bodily principle[14]. Similarly, in one of Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes, the minaret is said to be the phallus of the mosque: The Hoca sees a minaret and asks people what they call it; when he is told, "That's the town's penis", "Do you have a behind to match it?" he exclaims[15]. Also the images of sexual intercourse are much accentuated by the narratives. Nasreddin Hoca frequently gets exhausted because of his wife's insatiable lust[16]. Yet he does not refrain from extra-marital relations as if there are no sexual prohibitions in his world. On the other hand, always associated with his donkey, the Hoca does not hesitate to copulate with it[17]. Often interwoven with sexual images, death becomes cheerful and regenerative. For instance, when he is ill in bed and the neighbor women ask him what they should say while weeping after his death, he answers, "Say that he died without having enough of vulva"[18]. On the other hand, banquet images play a crucial part in Nasreddin Hoca's world as his motto is "better in our stomachs than our minds". As the bridegroom he refuses to enter the nuptial chamber since he has not been invited to his own wedding feast and he cannot sleep at night while a good dish is awaiting him in the kitchen[19].

[11] See Boratav 1996; Burrill 1970; Barnham 1923; Gölpınarlı 1961.

[12] Bakhtin 1968 and 1981.

[13] Boratav 1996, no. 25; Duman 2008, no. 152.

[14] Bakhtin 1968, 310–2.

[15] Boratav 1996, no. 31; Duman 2008, no. 156; Burrill 1970, no. 9.

[16] See Boratav 1996, nos. 176, 262, 323, 331, 363; Duman 2008, nos. 98, 127, 420, 458.

[17] See Boratav 1996, nos. 25, 64, 65, 66, 100 138; Duman 2008, nos. 208, 209, 402, 433; Burrill 1970, nos. 36, 38.

[18] Boratav 1996, no. 122; Duman 2008, no. 94.

[19] Boratav 1996, nos. 195, 513; Duman 2008, no. 108; Gölpınarlı 1961, no. 272.

The narratives also include parodic transgression of interdictions of Islam. For instance, when performing his ritual prayer in a mosque, the Hoca prostrates and a fellow takes hold of his testicles stuck out from behind. The Hoca in turn takes hold of the imam's testicles, and when asked what he is doing, "I thought you are playing the game of testicles," he answers[20]. Lastly, the images of the bottoms up, and the topsy-turvy, play a significant part in the folk laughter of the anecdotes. The Hoca wants to be buried upside down so as to rise upright when the world is turned upside down in the Day of Judgment[21]. Furthermore, he rides his donkey facing its tail[22]. In these ways, the dualities of high and low, top and bottom, and death and birth are thus turned inside out in a carnivalesque manner. The narrative encounters between the Hoca and Tamerlane are also to be considered within the context of grotesque imagery.

"THE KING AND THE FOOL": TAMERLANE AND NASREDDIN HOCA

In the early Hoca manuscripts, rulers or sultans mostly appear to be anonymous except for the cases in which the Hoca is depicted with Alaeddin Keykubat, the Seljuk sultan (1210–1219), and Murad I, the Ottoman sultan (1325–1389). The Hoca is respectful to the sultans mentioned by name but does not respect unnamed rulers, sometimes insulting them[23]. Tamerlane was introduced into the corpus as a new figure of political authority in the seventeenth century. Noticeably, Akşehir, the supposed hometown of the Hoca, is the place where Sultan Bayazid died in captivity after his defeat against Tamerlane in 1402. Stories about anonymous rulers being subsequently attributed to him, Tamerlane became a focus of anecdotes about despotic and unjust figures of political authority. Thereby, the pair of Nasreddin and Tamerlane served as "a focus and a generating force for anecdotes criticizing government and power"[24]. It can be argued that the "art of making do with" in its dissimulating aspect was employed in the naming of rulers as well. As Başgöz aptly remarks, "it was permissible and safer to condemn Tamerlane, a hated foreigner, than to condemn and insult an Ottoman sultan"[25].

In the anecdotes about his encounters with Tamerlane, the position of Nasreddin Hoca varies from a jester to a man of the common people. In some anecdotes, Nasreddin Hoca is cast as a jester at Tamerlane's court, playing the fool and provoking laughter. He appears as the only person licensed freely to debase the emperor and to make fun of him. His jokes, jests, and witticisms also make him a beloved courtier of Tamerlane. Thereby, Tamerlane and Nasreddin Hoca constitute

[20] Boratav 1996, no. 15; Duman 2008, no. 16; Burrill 1970, no. 27.
[21] Boratav 1996, no. 413.
[22] Duman 2008, no. 87; Gölpınarlı 1961, no. 108; cf. Bakhtin 1968: 411.
[23] For example, see Duman 2008, nos 373, 395.
[24] Marzolph 1996b: 497.
[25] Başgöz 1998: 27.

a pair analogous to "the king and the fool" of European cultural history. Despite the diversity of narrative traditions and genres (whether it be theatrical, mythical or folk-comical) in which such pairings figure, there appear some conventionalized narrative-stylistic features: "Irrespective of the specific work in which such pairings occur, we respond, long before the details of argument clearly emerge, to a convention whose power rests upon its promise to subvert our notion of power and convention... At the center of the *agon* there is always a moment of absolute reversal, an exchange of positions"[26]. The status reversal here has much to do with grotesque imagery briefly examined above. Bakhtin argues that such narratives, like the medieval dialogues between Solomon and the cheerful rogue Marcolph, represent the "dispute between a dismal sacred word and a cheerful folk word"[27]. Thus the pair of Tamerlane and Nasreddin Hoca can be taken as part of the dialogue of the high and low, top and bottom, or life and death[28].

Grotesque imagery of anecdotes is also articulated into the ones in which the Hoca figures as jester: When the emperor wants him to divide five eggs cooked by his wife fairly among the three (the emperor, his wife, and the Hoca), the Hoca divides them in the following way: one for himself and one for Tamerlane, since they both have two below their waist, and three for his wife, since she has none below her waist[29]. Similarly, he dares to offer Tamerlane his own penis as a quick-witted reply to the emperor's swearing at his wife – "shit on her hand"[30]. On the other hand, when Tamerlane, intended to check the Hoca's courage, orders his archers to fire arrows so as to pass between his legs and under his arms, he comes off unscathed but defecates into his underwear[31]. Nasreddin Hoca's mockery of Tamerlane also provokes laughter:

> Tamerlane was an ugly man; one of his eyes was blind, one of his legs iron-made (lame). One day while having a chat with the Hoca, he felt he needed a haircut; call his barber, and had a haircut. No sooner than he looked at his own image in the mirror the barber gave him, he started weeping for his ugliness. The Hoca too started weeping. They both shed tears for one or two ours. Afterwards, Tamerlane's courtiers and buffoons consoled him by means of amusing anecdotes. Tamerlane stopped weeping; but the Hoca did not. Rather he started crying even more bitterly. Soon Tamerlane asked the Hoca, 'I myself have had a look at my image in the mirror; and seen that I am utterly ugly notwithstanding that I am the sultan and have plenty of wealth and female slaves. I have wept for my own ugly look. Why have you yourself wept and still been weeping?' The Hoca replies: 'You looked at your face only once; and could not bear having a look at your own image. But we see your face day and night. Whoever would weep if we not? I've been weeping for that!' Tamerlane was doubled up with laughter[32].

[26] Bernstein 1983: 283.
[27] Bakhtin 1981: 76.
[28] Cf. Bakhtin 1968: 434.
[29] Walker and Uysal 1966: 233.
[30] Boratav 1996, no. 265; Duman 2008, no. 367. For another variant, see Duman 2008, no. 99.
[31] Boratav 1996, no. 557; Duman 2008, no. 612; Barnham 1923: 141–4.
[32] Boratav 1996, no. 326, Duman 2008, no. 478.

There are also directly satirical anecdotes in which Nasreddin Hoca dares to debase, devalue and criticize the brutal emperor. In the bathhouse, Tamerlane asks the Hoca how much he would be worth; and the Hoca says, "Sixty piasters." When Tamerlane says angrily that even his bath towel is worth sixty, "Just so, I estimated its price," answers the Hoca[33]. Similarly, when Tamerlane asks Nasreddin whether he would go to Heaven or Hell, the Hoca says that no sooner than he closes his eyes he will join the club of great emperors like Nimrod, Pharaoh, Alexander, and Chengiz Khan, alluding to Hell[34]. Nasreddin also ventures to question the legitimacy of the whimsical orders of the despot: A drunken soldier being brought to his presence, Tamerlane sentences him to three hundred blows of the bastinado[35]. Having noticed that Nasreddin Hoca smiles, he increases the number of blows to five hundred; and then, when the Hoca starts laughing, he again increases it to eight hundred at which the Hoca outrageously bursts into laughter. Angry with the Hoca, Tamerlane asks, "How dare you mock at me when I give sentence; I, a mighty conqueror who has made the world tremble! What a cold heart you must have to be still laughing!" The Hoca replies: "I fully admit that you are a cruel tyrant. But I am surprised that either you don't know how to count or unlike us you are not a man of flesh and blood but iron as your name implies"[36]. Here his liminal status is his greatest help to the extent that he plays on his own ambivalent figuration in between folly and wisdom, and naiveté and ingenuity.

By way of digression, the Hoca's witticism and trickery are not only directed against Tamerlane but also his fellow villagers and neighbors: Tamerlane sends an elephant to the Hoca's village for pasture as a form of taxation. Within a short while it eats all the crops of the villagers. When the people ask the Hoca to see Tamerlane and to have it sent back, he suggests that they all go and see him all together. They agree to this proposal and they all go to Tamerlane's tent. But when the Hoca is about to enter into the tent, he looks behind and realizes that all the people have deserted him one by one for their fear of Tamerlane. Angry with his fellow villagers, the Hoca enters the presence of Tamerlane and says to the emperor, "I have come to tell you that the elephant you gave us is lovely. We wish that you would give us a female elephant too"[37]. Likewise, Nasreddin thinks that tyranny does not simply result from the whim of the monarch but is founded upon

[33] Boratav 1996, no. 181; Duman 2008, no. 271; Barnham 1923: 221. In the earliest, sixteenth century versions of this anecdote, the protagonist appears to be the poet Ahmadi Kirmani (died 1413) who had been at the court of Sultan Bayazid. The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* (Travel Book) is the first text that atributes the anecdote to Nasreddin Hoca. See Marzolph 1996: 486–9.

[34] Boratav 1996, no. 591; Barnham 1923: 112–3.

[35] Alcoholic drinks are strictly forbidden by sharia, the Islamic sacred law, violation of which requires a punishment by bastinado with a maximum of eighty blows.

[36] Boratav 1996, no. 483; Barnham 1923: 83–49. "Tamerlane" means "iron leg" in Turkish.

[37] Boratav 1996, no. 512; Walker and Uysal 1966: 229–32; Barnham 1923: 33–4; Gölpınarlı 1961, no. 232.

and sustained by the very wickedness of the populace: When Tamerlane asks, "Am I a tyrant or a learned man?", the Hoca replies, "Your majesty, you are neither a tyrant nor a learned man. It is we who have been such cruel tyrants that God has sent you to scourge us"[38].

Nonetheless, such satirical anecdotes are not typical of the corpus as most narratives thematize the avoidance of direct and open confrontation with Tamerlane. Being on the alert, the Hoca keeps his temper against a rude fellow until he makes sure that he has no connection with Tamerlane[39]. The avoidance of direct and open confrontation is best illustrated by the following anecdote:

> The tyranny of the Mongols led panic-stricken people to flee away from towns and the Hoca too went to a secluded village in the hills along with his wife and son. One day people gathered together before the village fountain start criticizing the brutal character of the Mongols. Accordingly, Nasreddin Hoca began to describe in detail the awful torments those tyrants would suffer in Hell. All of a sudden a dervish among the people burst out with a voice of thunder, denouncing them as a poor-blooded, lazy, woman-hearted folk. The people being startled and horrified, the Hoca gave the dervish a searching look and in despair dared to ask him questions about his identity. When he eventually realized that it was Tamerlane in disguise, he turned to the people and said, 'People of Mohammed! Welcome to the funeral prayer for the dead!'[40]

Analyzing "hidden transcripts" of subordinate groups, Scott argues that the weak dare not contest power relations onstage but articulate an offstage dissent which is expressed in rumors, folktales, or jokes[41]. The above anecdote parodies such a critique of power behind the back of the dominant. Besides it is suggestive of why the folk tradition of laughter focused on Tamerlane, a hated foreign despot, and not Ottoman sultans. Given that anecdotes are part of oral tradition, it also warns us that folk storytellers might adopt a strategic pose and modify their stories when narrating in public.

In many anecdotes, Nasreddin Hoca is cast as the only man of the people who is able to save the town and its terror-stricken inhabitants from Tamerlane's disastrous despotism. Where the people are incapable of challenging or rebelling against tyrannical rule but have to survive, he appears as the savior who could manage to employ cunning methods of "escaping without leaving"[42]. Thanks to his ingenuity and wit, Nasreddin Hoca is able to devise tricks to cope with Tamerlane. He uses a vast repertoire of tactics such as avoidance, flight, simulation of obedience, dissimulation of dissent, and trickery.

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[38] Boratav 1996, no. 496; Walker and Uysal 1966: 229–32.

[39] Duman 2008, no. 716.

[40] Boratav 1996, no. 559; Duman 2008, no. 658; Gölpınarlı 1961, no. 230; Barnham 1923: 147–9. Another variant of the same motif is told on the violation of the strict prohibition of drinking alcohol and smoking under the reign of Murad IV (1623–1640). It pairs the figures of Murad IV disguised as a dervish and a coffeehouse keeper. See Bayrak 1987: 115–6.

[41] Scott 1990.

[42] de Certeau 1984: 87.

As a resourceful figure, Nasreddin Hoca pretends to have flu when Tamerlane asks him if his palace stinks; for he knows that both positive and negative answers will cause death[43]. Also he resorts to flight to save his life from the arbitrary rule of Tamerlane: No sooner has he heard of the fact that Tamerlane kills those men who annoy him in his dreams than the Hoca flees to his village. When his fellow villagers wonder why he has left Tamerlane and come away despite he is the only man with whom the emperor never gets angry and who can manage him and save the people, Nasreddin answers: "By God's grace I am able to cope with any situation when he is awake. At least I cautiously avoid and elude him as much as possible. But I am not capable of not appearing, or acting as he wishes, in his dreams"[44]. Unable to leave the place the law of which is set by the despot, he tries to accommodate it: Tamerlane decides to confiscate the property of the governor of Akşehir on the pretense that he had defrauded the tax authorities, and summons him to present his accounts. He makes the governor swallow the account papers, sequestrating his property. Then he orders Nasreddin Hoca to supervise the collection of taxes despite all his excuses. When, at the beginning of the next month, he calls him for a statement of accounts, he sees that the Hoca has written it on a thin and flat piece of bread. The Hoca explains: "Wouldn't you make me swallow it sooner or later? I have not such an appetite as my predecessor had. I am an old man and can only digest this"[45].

Seizing on opportunities, the Hoca plays with language and meaning as well. For instance, when Tamerlane, flown into rage by the Hoca's familiar manners in presenting the requests of the townspeople, thunders, "how dare you so insolently demand such serious things from a great sultan like me?", he replies: "What matter? If you're great, we're small!"[46] He also relies on his repartee in order to checkmate Tamerlane and thereby save his own life: One day Tamerlane sends a platoon of soldiers to invite the Hoca to his tent. Yet, knowing that the emperor killed those who were called before him, the Hoca is reluctant to go. Called again, he still does not hurry and finally Tamerlane himself decides to visit the Hoca's village. When they meet in the middle of a narrow street surrounded by peasants, the emperor's horse is frightened by the Hoca's large turban and throws him off its back. Tamerlane orders his soldiers to have the Hoca hanged. When the Hoca wants to know what his offence is, Tamerlane says, "you brought bad luck to me". "Who has brought bad luck? Is it you or I?" asks the Hoca, "You are the bringer of bad luck, for I am about to be hanged. If I had been the bringer of bad luck, you would have fallen off your horse on your head and died – and then there would have been reason to hang me". Then the emperor forgives the Hoca because of his

[43] Duman 2008, no. 707.
[44] Boratav 1996, no. 508; Barnham 1923: 163.
[45] Boratav 1996, no. 554; Barnham 1923: 139–40.
[46] Boratav, 1996, no. 553; Gölpınarlı 1961, no. 228.

witty answer[47]. Marked by external occurrences, Nasreddin Hoca's response thus seizes on occasions so as to subtly manipulate and reverse the unfavorable or hostile composition of the law of the place: "What the event inscribes, no matter how fleeting and rapid it may be, is reversed, reverts back to it in the form of a word or an act: a flash repartee. The vivacity and appropriateness of this repartee are inseparable from their dependence on the instants which occur and from the vigilance that they mark all the more because there is less of a proper place to protect oneself and oneself's memory against their occurrence"[48].

The ways of making do with the powerful in Nasreddin Hoca narratives also include simulation of powerfulness and dissimulation of weakness. In order to escape the tyrant, Nasreddin Hoca adopts a swaggering and domineering behavior and yet he is always ever ready to dissimulate and deny his challenge. For instance,

> The Hoca got sick and tired of Tamerlane. He appeared in his presence, and said, 'Look here! Will you or will you not take your army and go away from Akşehir?' Taken aback by the Hoca's question, Tamerlane said, 'What are you talking about? What kind of question is it? The Hoca pursued his question adamantly: It is quite clear. Will you or will you not go away? That's what I want to know. If you won't, I know what'll do'. Tamerlane flew into a rage: 'I won't' What are you going to do?' The Hoca replied: 'What can I do but go away myself together with the townspeople[49].

The complex interplay of such tactics as simulation, trickery, resourcefulness, repartee in the Hoca's making do with Tamerlane is also evident in the following anecdote: The people of Akşehir urges Nasreddin Hoca to prevent Tamerlane and his army from entering the town and thus save their lives. The Hoca wears a blanket wrapped around his head as a huge turban and rides his donkey to meet Tamerlane. When noticed the Hoca, Tamerlane is startled by his oversize turban. "Pardon me! It's my nightcap," says the Hoca, "I was in a hurry to meet you; and I forgot to change it. My turban for the day is being carried by cart"[50]. Here oversize turban is a comic pretense to having a high status. In another version of this anecdote, upon his fellow townsmen's request to cope with Tamerlane, Nasreddin Hoca asks them for a green cloak, huge turban and a huge green pulpit to be set on the plain of Akşehir. Provided with all he wants, the Hoca settles down in the pulpit, his huge turban being held up by two men standing at his sides. When Tamerlane sees him, he sends a soldier to bring him before his presence; but the Hoca refuses to go, saying "I am the god of earth. That's why I can't be entering into his presence; quite the reverse, he should visit me." Tamerlane is furious but comes along with his retinue and asks the Hoca who he is. "I am the god of the earth," says the Hoca once again. When Tamerlane demands him to enlarge the

[47] Walker and Uysal 1966: 229–32. For a variant of this anecdote, in which Tamerlane is replaced by an anonymous sultan, see Boratav 1996, no. 300.

[48] de Certeau 1984: 88.

[49] Gölpınarlı 1961, no. 234; Karabaş and Bear 1996, no. 106.

[50] Boratav 1996, no. 229; Duman 2008, no. 270.

small eyes of young girls in his company to prove that he is truly a god, the Hoca replies, "Your Majesty, I am the god of earth. If they have got holes below the waist, I can enlarge them. It is the god of the heaven who can enlarge holes above the waist. None of my business!"[51]

Leaving aside the grotesque debasement through "material bodily lower stratum," Nasreddin Hoca's posing as a god here appear as a tactical weapon deployed so as to avoid or cope with the power of the ruler. The latter is indeed the strongest and occupies the highest point in the ladder of secular hierarchy in the realm. The only way for Nasreddin to defeat the seemingly infallible sovereign is to lower it in the hierarchy by simulating god, stronger than the strongest of worldly creatures, and thereby positing his own "divine" sovereignty high and above Tamerlane's.

As seen above, except a few satirical anecdotes in which Nasreddin Hoca tells Tamerlane the truth about his rule, most narratives on the encounter between the two recount humorous ways of making do with the powerful. Nasreddin Hoca's tactics vary, ranging from playing the fool, the naive, the weakest, the most powerless, to posing as the strongest, the most powerful, or the highest. Yet he does not attempt to invert the hierarchical order but plays with it in order to cope with the overarching power of the despot.

DIOGENES THE KYNIC AND NASREDDİN

In his work on "cynical reason" where he develops his "post-ideological" argument of "enlightened false consciousness", Sloterdijk contrasts two opposing forms of consciousness, the *cynicism* of power and the *kynicism* of resistance from below: The cynical reason of domination marked by "enlightened false consciousness" is counteracted by kynical response in the forms of satirical laughter, convivial self-assertion, strategic silence, somatic anarchism, and politics of defiant body action[52]. From Sloterdijk's standpoint, the ancient Greek figure of Diogenes appears as an archetypal embodiment of kynical revolt. The well-known anecdote from the ancient Greece goes as follows: Alexander the Great, passing by the public square on his horse, stops before Diogenes who is sunbathing crouched in his barrel. Eager to prove his generosity as the sovereign, Alexander grants the dog-philosopher a wish: "What do you want, what do you desire? My glory and power are capable of giving you everything." Diogenes answers: "Stop blocking

[51] Boratav 1996, no. 324; Duman 2008, no. 417.

[52] Sloterdijk 1988. Also, following Sloterdijk, Zizek (1989: 29) makes a distinction between cynicism of the dominant and kynicism of the dominated: "Kynicism represents the popular, plebeian rejection of the official culture by means of irony and sarcasm: the classical kynical procedure is to confront the pathetic phrases of the ruling official ideology – its solemn, grave tonality – with everyday banality and to hold them up to ridicule, thus exposing behind the sublime *noblesse* of the ideological phrases the egoistical interests, the violence, the brutal claims to power."

my sun!" He wants Alexander to remove his shadow from the presence of the sun. Sloterdijk contends that the Alexander anecdote indicates the emancipation of the philosopher from the politician: "Here, the wise man is not, like the modern intellectual, an accomplice of the powerful, but turns his back on the subjective principle of power, ambition, and the urge to be recognized. He is the first one who is uninhibited enough to say the truth to the prince. Diogenes' answer negates not only the desire for power, but the power of desire as such"[53].

At this point, Serres' essay on Diogenes and the Alexander anecdote is also suggestive insofar as the subversive potential of Diogenes' kynicism is concerned[54]. From his perspective, the shadow of Alexander that veils the sun unravels the geometry of power that designates the continuum from the lowest to the highest, the weakest to the strongest, the minimum to the maximum. Though having forsaken society, Diogenes, for Serres, is not a hermit and he deliberately resides on the public square so as to provoke and checkmate the king. What he does is nothing but playing the low, the victim, the powerless: "Playing the weak to be stronger than power. Forsaking society, pretending to forsake it, in order to checkmate the king. Pretending to be ignominious in order to ennoble himself above the prince"[55]. Hence, Diogenes wins by deploying his logical weapons against material weapons of the king but he loses since he obeys the rules of the game and remains within the space of the power. Alexander admits that if he had not been Alexander, he would have liked to have become Diogenes. In this way, admired by the king and by the people both at the agora and in the history classes, Diogenes climbs up the ladder of height and thus obeys the law of power. Contrary to Sloterdijk's argument for the negation of power by Diogenes, Serres maintains that Diogenes and Alexander are inseparable twins who complement one another in reciprocating power and glory; and that inversion of hierarchy reaffirms the relation of order by leaving the relational path itself intact and invariant just like a see-saw or a merry-go-ground[56].

What is crucial and noteworthy for the purposes of this article is that Sloterdijk explicitly cites Nasreddin Hoca as a colleague of Diogenes the kynic[57]. Similarly, asserting that Asian humor is a kynical one, Hatemi regards Nasreddin Hoca as Diogenes of an Asian type[58]. Indeed, there is, at first sight, a striking resemblance between Diogenes' and Nasreddin's encounters with Alexander and Tamerlane respectively. Likewise are Diogenes' animalist philosophy and Nasreddin's

[53] Sloterdijk 1988: 161.

[54] Serres 1989. For his similar arguments on the geometry of hierarchical ordering relations, developed by making an analogy between La Fontaine's fable, "The Wolf and the Lamb", and "Western man as a wolf of science", see Serres 1982.

[55] Serres 1989: 81.

[56] Serres 1989: 88.

[57] Sloterdijk 1988: 159–60.

[58] Hatemi 1997: 62.

grotesque images of phallus, copulation, defecation, sodomy, etc. Nevertheless, Diogenes occupies a clearly defined philosophical standpoint whereas the Hoca is an amorphous figure of folk imagination that combines diverse narratives of various origins together. Furthermore, the positions of Diogenes and Nasreddin in their respective social spaces are different to one another. Diogenes the dog lives among the rubbish, being naked, dirty, and crouched in his barrel. Having forsaken all the things of the world and abandoned all social relations of value, exchange, mastership and servitude, he is outside society. Distancing himself from all needs for the sake of his freedom, he displays a spectacular poverty and does not let himself be made the fool of needs and riches.

Unlike Diogenes who teaches that the wise man too eats cake but only if he can just as well do without it, Nasreddin devises all possible tricks to have a good meal. Again unlike Diogenes's ostentatious poverty posited against the sacrifice of freedom, Nasreddin constantly strives for making a livelihood. Diogenes ironically and sarcastically mocks and makes fun of his philosopher colleagues; and he adopts an oppositional, critical stance *vis-à-vis* his fellow citizens as illustrated in the episode with the lantern. As a subversive figure, he advocates the ideas of the free and autonomous existence of the "citizen of the world", the unfettered experience of the animal side of *zoon politikon*, the perversion of social norms and conventions; and launches a frontal attack against the politics of family. In contrast to him, Nasreddin is not simply the "outsider"; and rather dwells in the threshold between "outside" and "inside". As I have shown above, he does not self-consciously oppose and challenge the power of Tamerlane or social norms and conventions. He rather strives to cope with them by means of wit, stratagem, and naiveté. "Strategic silence" and "pragmatic procedures" of naively or wittily laying bare the truth of the dominant are part of his arsenal of tactical weapons. Yet he employs them as a form of making do with and not as a form of subversive challenge. Rather than forging an antagonism against the ruler or mores and conventions, he parodies and plays with them.

In contrast to Diogenes, Nasreddin Hoca does not deliberately dwell in the public square to defeat Tamerlane and to reverse the relation of order between the strong and the weak or the high and the low. Instead he leaves the town to save his life from the disastrous consequences of Tamerlane's dream. Or he is forced by his fellow people to save the town from the despot and devises a trick to "escape without leaving" by simulating the god of earth. Being well-aware of the logic of the ladder of hierarchy Serres unravels, he *plays* the almighty in order to evade Tamerlane; but in contrast to Serres' remarks, he does not attempt to displace him. Having neither forsaken society nor had a "place" of his own from which he would wage a war against the ruler or the game itself, he dwells in the ambivalent and liminal space betwixt and between the affirmation of the law and its subversion[59].

[59] Cf. de Certeau 1984.

The "art of making do with", characteristic of Nasreddin's encounters with the powerful can be observed in other forms of folk laughter as well. In this respect, the contrast between Nasreddin and Diogenes may also be illustrated with reference to a Turkish shadow theatre performance as described by a French observer of the 19th century, Gerard de Nerval: "When police regulations, for the first time, decreed that after the nightfall no one should go out without a lantern, Karagöz made his appearance with a lantern, suspended in an unusual manner, imprudently jeering at the authorities because the regulations did not say that there must be a candle in the lantern. When he was arrested by the police and released again after it had been ascertained that he was in the right, he appeared once more with a lantern containing a candle that he neglected to light"[60]. In contrast to Diogenes' lantern episode, its Turkish folk narrative counterpart is not concerned with kynical revolt, but with evading the established order.

As a final remark, one could argue that the metaphorical significance of such narrative figures like Nasreddin Hoca lies in their otherness in this world, reflecting and externalizing the common people's mode of being[61]. Viewing folk narratives as "living museums" of popular art of speaking and of living in the other's field, de Certeau asserts that they offer their audience a repertory of tactics for future use as well as reversing the relationship of power[62]. His argument implies that there is a homology between folk storytelling and quotidian tactics employed by the common people. To the extent that it is performed and disseminated in disguised, evasive, or gossipy ways, the very narration of folk humorous stories involves the "art of making do with" power.

Significantly enough, studies on the social history of Ottoman peasantry and nomadic tribes note that they devised all sorts of means to trick, evade, escape, and cope with the apparently omnipotent state[63]. Much similar to Nasreddin's flight away from the arbitrary rule of Tamerlane, when overburdened by taxation, Ottoman peasants often abandoned their land and settled in other regions. Faroqhi suggests that the availability of means of avoidance and evasion on the side of the rural masses provides an explanation for the fact that there were no violent peasant rebellions in Ottoman Anatolia in contrast to Medieval Europe[64]. Similarly, when discussing the rural unrest in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, Quatert observes that peasants avoided performing duties or paying taxes[65]. Put it briefly, the "art of making do with" was part of the social history of the subaltern social classes and groups in the Ottoman Empire as well as the representations of encounters with the rulers in the folk tradition of laughter. One can further claim

[60] Quoted in And 1975: 53.
[61] Cf. Bakhtin 1984: 159.
[62] de Certeau 1984: 23.
[63] See Erdoğan 1999/2000.
[64] Faroqhi 1997: 63.
[65] Quatert 1994: 876.

that it is still predominant in Turkish popular culture and the everyday life of the common people. The political and cultural dynamics that have nurtured such a stance vis-à-vis the power are yet to be analyzed by scholars.

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"CHOOSING A BRIDE": VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL TEXT IN CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE

KRINKA VIDAKOVIĆ-PETROV

ABSTRACT

"Choosing a Bride" is a ballad widely distributed in the Hispanic area (Peninsular Spain and Portugal, Latin America and the Diaspora of the Spanish Jews) since the 17th c. It has been integrated into children's folklore. Its theme, prenuptial negotiation, has important social and gender aspects; it has the generic structure of a lyrical ballad; the mode is based on the principle of comedy of errors. The theme has two signifiers: one primary (verbal text) and one secondary (non-verbal text). However, the analysis is specifically focused on performance: its heterosemiotic character, variation of context of performance, interaction between verbal and non-verbal language, types of non-verbal text, and gender aspect of games.

Keywords: lyrical ballad, heterosemiotic aspect of the ballad, verbal and non-verbal language, children's folklore, gender in ballad interpretation and performance.

1. "CHOOSING A BRIDE": A LYRICAL BALLAD STRUCTURED AS A COMEDY OF ERRORS

The two volumes of the *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)* compiled by Margit Frenk bring together a large number of Hispanic texts from the 15th to 17th century that are considered lyrical. Numbered as 2136A and 2136B are two texts[1] dealing with the same theme. Unlike the second one represented merely by its opening lines, the first text is longer. It consists of a dialogue in which we discern "a count" asking for the hand of "a daughter of the Moorish king". He is rejected because his social status is lower than the bride's, but later it is suggested that he too (or the man he is representing as an envoy) is a king's son and therefore an appropriate match for a princess. The lyrical quality of the text is stressed especially by the repetition of certain segments: in first place, two introductory verses repeated after each stanzas as a refrain, and in second place, verses 15–18 repeated at the end of the text. This kind of repetition is in line with the performance context. Frenk indicates, according to the 17th century source, that it was performed as "a game" which "contains a

[1] Frenk 2003: 1542–1544.

dance"[2]. However, there is no clue regarding the association of the game with a specific age-group (young adults or children). The association of the text with dance is confirmed by the stressing of rhythm through repetition of two textual segments, one of them, the refrain, being a lyrical exclamation.

The data presented by Frenk confirms the this text was associated with game and dance in the 17th c, while an intertextual reference found in Lope de Vega's play *Daca mi mujer* and a mention of the game in an 18th c Spanish source attest to its popularity. This popularity grew in the 19th c and was maintained in some parts of the Hispanic world throughout the 20th c and to this day. The text became known under various titles: *Escogiendo novia* [Choosing a Bride], *La embajada buscando novia* [The Envoy Seeking a Bride], *Hilitos de oro* [Golden Threads][3], *La condesa* [The Countess], *Knights of Spain*, etc. For the sake of convenience, I will refer to it as "Choosing a Bride", this being a title containing a general reference to the theme: a marriage negotiation[4].

Although the object of negotiation is marriage, the negotiation itself is like any other. It involves two parties, in this case one representing the groom and the other representing the bride (and their respective families). Negotiating marriage was a social reality regulating marriage as a social contract between two families as expressed through the relationship of the individuals representing them (husband and wife). The wedding was a public event, a sealing of the contract, followed by a celebration.

The significance of the theme stems from the importance of marriage regarding inter and intra-family relations, economic interests, social status, cultural identity, biological continuity, and inheritance. Since in pre-modern society marriages were arranged between families, not individuals, love did not play any role in the negotiation. The primary consideration was social status coupled with economic interests. Multicultural societies involved additional religious and cultural considerations. The undesirable "other" was a discrepant partner – one differing in social rank, religion or cultural background. Gender and sexual relations were a fundamental aspect of marriage and are expressed in erotic and sexual connotations. The possible discrepancy between marriage (a social contract), love (an individual emotion) and sex (sometimes blind both to social and emotional considerations) brings to mind a number of themes found both in oral and written literary tradition. These themes range from tragedy to comedy. Love clashing with social norms, as in the Romeo and Juliet theme, leads to tragedy.

[2] Frenk 2003: 1543.

[3] Frenk cites two versions of these opening lines: "Hilitos, hilitos de oro,/ que se me vienen quebrando..." and "Hebrita de oro traygo,/ quebrándoseme biene...", spoken by the envoy sent to choose a bride for the groom. The rupturing of the "golden thread" could refer to the breaking of the family when the daughters are to be given in marriage.

[4] For a more detailed account of the versions and variants of "Choosing a Bride", see Vidaković-Petrov 2010: 259–315.

Adultery, implying a transgression or ridicule of social norms, appears both in tragic and comic forms. Finally, there are simple miss-matchings, regarding age differences, for example, that tend to be seen in a humorous or comic light. Ultimately and in some cases quite overtly, the bride was perceived as an asset, a human merchandise to be transferred from one family to the other, once the negotiating parties reach an acceptable price. The variation of "price" is expressed in folksongs in many ways. When the negotiation takes place in a low social environment, the price is expressed in the value of metal (copper, silver and gold) or that of domestic animals (geese, sheep and horses). However, in a high social setting value is expressed through social ranking (king, count, nobleman, etc.) and although there is a tendency to avoid the banality associated with money (gold) and merchandise (horses), the negotiation remains essentially the same.

The theme of "Choosing a Bride" also has a distant association with the fairy tale. In certain fairy tales the young protagonist aspires to marry the princess of a king in a distant land. He is rejected because he first has to perform a number of tasks, which he does usually with the assistance of a magic helper. Only when he has succeeded where his rivals have failed, the protagonist is accepted as an appropriate groom for the princess-bride. The happy-end is marked by their marriage and a wedding celebration. This specific fairy-tale plot is to some extent analogous to "Choosing a Bride". In the latter the groom is first rejected and later accepted, but unlike the fairy-tale, he does not have to perform tasks to prove his worth. He only has to reveal his true identity. As soon as the bride's family realizes he is a prince rather than a count or pauper, they call him back and ask him to choose any girl he wishes. Unlike the fairy-tale, "Choosing a Bride" has a discrete layer of humour and irony. The message – that the match-making is in fact a negotiation like any other – is communicated with a playful smile as the text is moved into a different context of performance – that of game and dance.

The earliest version of "Choosing a Bride" is from the 17th c and we know that already at that time the text was associated with game and dance. Since then the text has been widely distributed in all parts of the Hispanic world. It is found in almost all the regions of Spain and Portugal as well as in Latin America, where it is very well known to this day as a popular children's song-game under the title "Hilitos de oro". Less known, but not less interesting, are Judeo-Spanish versions collected both in the Eastern Mediterranean (the Balkans) and the Western Mediterranean (Morrocco). To these versions we can add analogues collected in the English speaking world by the American folklorist William Wells Newell, who uses the title *Knights of Spain*[5] and Alice B. Gomme who prefers *Three Knights from Spain*[6].

Chronologically speaking, the Hispanic texts range from the 17th c to this day. The song is very popular even today in Latin America, especially in

[5] Newell 1992: 39–45.
[6] Gomme 1984: 257–279.

Mexico. A fairly representative text can be the earliest Judeo-Spanish version from the beginning of the 20th c. It was written down by Maria Gross de Alkalay, a Sephardic woman from Bosnia, and published in 1905 by Angel Pulido in his book *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí*[7]. Here is the Alkalay text, accompanied by a literal English translation:

– Aquí me manda el señor rey	– I come as the envoy of the king,
De las hijas que tenéis	Of all the daughters you have,
A la mas bella que me déis.	You are to give me the fairest.
– Ni las tengo ni las doy,	– None I have and none will I give,
Ni vos me las mantenéis	Nor will you support them,
Con el pan que yo comiera	From the bread I eat
Comerán ellas también.	They too will partake.
– Tan alegre que yo iba	– I was happy on coming,
Tan aflegido que me voy	And so troubled on leaving,
A la hija del rey moro	The daughter of the Moorish king
No me la dan por mujer.	They refuse to give me for a wife.
– Tornad, tornad caballero,	– Come back, come, knight,
Venid buen forastero,	Come here good foreigner,
Subid arriba al monastero,	Go upstairs to the monastery,
Escoged cuala queréis.	Choose the one you like.
– A ésta me llevo por hermosa,	– I take this beautiful one,
A ésta me llevo por esposa,	I take this one for my wife,
Que me para una rosa	She looks like a rose
Acabada de nacer.	That has just budded.

The text has many variations and these place it on the boundary line separating, but also connecting, lyrical ballads and lyrical songs. Unlike the 17th c text which features repetition of certain segments (one of them a refrain), this version features no repetition, suggesting a lesser interest in rhythmical patterns. We define it as a lyrical ballad based on three features. First, there is no narration (indirect speech) describing characters and events from a narrator's point of view. Second, the characters, their relationships (situations) and changes in the latter (events) are presented exclusively through dialogue and monologue (direct speech). In third place is its structure which requires more detailed considerations.

The ballad story begins with an encounter of two protagonists who engage in a dialogue. One is the bride's family represented by the father or mother, so we can mark the latter as *F* (family of female marriage partner). The other is the groom or a representative of his family, marked as *M* (family of the male marriage partner). Here we have the basic gender distinction inherent in a marriage negotiation: *F* providing the bride and *M* providing the groom. The socially conditioned gender

[7] Pulido Fernández 1905: 79.

inequality appears in the different status of the two. Namely, the bride is the object that changes hands as she is to be trasferred from her bilogical family (*F*) to the family of in-laws (*M*).

The opening situation is *F*+ (possessing the object) versus *M*- (lacking the object). The closing situation is the opposite, indicating the completion of the transfer: *F*- versus *M*+. However, between opening and closing situation is an important segment: the negotiation. The latter proceeds in two phases: the first in which the bride's family rejects the groom's proposal, and the second in which they suddenly accept it. The abrupt change is caused by a crucial event, but typically for the structure of a lyrical ballad[8], this event is cognitive rather than physical: it is the *realization* that the groom's family is of higher social ranking than initially thought. The realization follows the revelation of the groom's true identity: he who seemed to be of a lower social rank turned out to be a prince. The change of heart on the part of the bride's family is actually a correction of the mistaken assessment of the groom's social status. While the mistake prompted an arrogant rejection, the correction suddenly gives way to overly eager and submissive acceptance. It is here that we detect the comic nucleus of the story, but the story itself consists of three segments:

I Initial situation: *F*+ and *M*-
M is rejected by *F* due to mistaken identity
(failed negotiation)

II True identity of *M* is revealed

III *M* is accepted by *F*
Concluding situation: *F*- and *M*+
(successful negotiation)

The nucleus of the story is essentially the same as in a comedy of errors in which mistaken identity reveils a comic reality concluding in a happy-end. The lyrical ballad "Choosing a Bride" has an embryonic dramatic quality manifested in the exclusive use of direct speech (dialogue and monologue) and a structure centered around the crucial event that links the initial situation with the concluding one. The mistaken identity motif highlights the comic aspect of match-making as social behaviour regulated by power relations. The high social setting of the oldest text of "Choosing a Bride" is maintained in many later versions. However, there are some in which the bride's family is simply wealthy, although less so than the groom's, while in others the setting is further downgraded. The majority versions of "Choosing a Bride" shed comic light on the behaviour of the bride's family, but there are versions that move the focus from the bride's family to the the groom. In

[8] Cfr. Vidakovic-Petrov 1989: 87–92.

these versions the mistaken identity is turned upside down i.e. transformed into a discrepancy between the groom's high self image and the low reality behind it. These versions bifurcate into two types. One type tends to blend with the "marriage of January and May" motif, ridiculing old men dreaming of young brides. The second type is found in some Latin American versions which mock men who, unaware of their own shortcomings, expect to find perfect brides. These texts present a rural setting in which the characters are dehumanized: the groom is "a horse", often a lame one, and the young women "flowers" he sniffs one by one.

2. "CHOOSING A BRIDE": THE HETEROSEMIOTIC ASPECT OF THE PERFORMANCE

The most interesting feature of this lyrical ballad is the heterosemiotic aspect of its performance: the relationship of text, game and dance. Most spanish ballads are performed by vocalization: the performer sings it to an audience which is a passive listener. "Choosing a Bride" is different because the audience takes on an active role as protagonist of the performance. Therefore, the individual singer is replaced by a group performer that engages in singing, game and dance. The performance in fact identifies performer and audience. In addition, the performer is in some cases specified by gender markers.

The performance involves the interaction of two types of language: verbal and non-verbal. Non-verbal language includes visual signs, spacial relations (distribution of players in space) and movement (action and choreography). Therefore, we are dealing with two interrelated texts – one verbal, the other non-verbal.

The following analysis is focused on the interaction of verbal and non-verbal language in the performance.

We know that in the 17th c the verbal text of "Choosing a Bride" was sung and accompanied by game and dance. We assume the context of performance was a high social setting and that it was performed by young adults as a game including dance. Later versions show, however, that "Choosing a Bride" had become a part of children's folklore, whereby the social context of performance became less relevant. "Choosing a Bride" seems to have gone through a process involving the transformation of a folkloric item of one age-group: young adults – into a folkloric item of another age group: children[9]. Since the 19th c, perhaps even earlier, this lyrical ballad has been integrated into the system of children's folklore.

Compared with adult folklore, *game* in children's folklore assumes a much more important role.

[9] There are cases in which items originating in adult folklore or 'serious' literature are subsequently transferred into children's folklore where they survive in the form of nursery rhymes, children's songs and games, unlike other items which have originated in children's folklore itself.

At the onset it is useful to keep in mind the distinction between dancing and playing games. Dance involves movement and choreography linked to the semantic aspect of the verbal text, but even more so to its musical aspect – rhythm and tune. It implies repetition of movement patterns in harmony with the rhythm of the verbal text which is sung, sometimes to the accompaniment of instrumental music.

Games are more complex as conventionalized and formalized manifestations of play. Scholars studying games have observed gender differentiation among them, a point to be taken into consideration due to its pertinence in the analysis of the performance of "Choosing a Bride". Robert Callois has observed that competitive games of dexterity and skill are more proper for boys than girls while others, more appropriate for girls, are amusing pastimes similar to dance, drama and song[10]. The latter tend to be cooperative rather than competitive. Callois comments that "boys are given higher achievement training, while girls are given more consistent obedience and responsability training" and that "these differences in socialization correspond to the general differences between adult male and female roles"[11]. Further gender distinctions in children's games were suggested by B. Sutton-Smith and M. Savasta:

> The games preferred by boys show a greater emphasis on bodily strengthand bodily contact, the use of larger spaces, for success achieved through active interference in active play activities (...), for a continuous flow of activity, for motor activity involving the whole body, for players acting simultaneously or in concert. Any type of sport could be taken to exemplify these dimensions. Girls for their part show a greater interest in games where turns are taken in ordered sequence, where there is choral activity, song and rhyme, verbalism, where rhythm is involved, where the stages in play are multiple, but well defined, where competition is indirect...[12]

Without elaborating on the complex issue of the classification of children's games, our discussion will focus on two types of games: games of physical skill and sociodramatic play and a subclass of the latter called thematic fantasy play. While games of physical skill are grouped with games of chance and games of strategy in the class of competitive games, competitiveness loses relevance in sociodramatic play. Sociodramatic play "combines gesture, language and object use which represents event sequences acted out by one or more players who assume various roles"[13] and features six basic elements: imitative role play, make-believe in regard to objects, make-believe in regard to actions and situations, persistence, interaction and verbal communication[14]. Although sociodramatic play in the strict sense is based on children's actual experiences, it is essentially similar to thematic fantasy play in which children enact stories (fairy-tales or other genres

[10] Callois 1961: 405–406.
[11] Callois 1961: 476.
[12] Sutton-Smith–Savasta 1978: 112.
[13] Wolf–Grollman 1982: 51.
[14] Smilansky 1971: 116–117.

such as the ballad). Both involve role playing, but compared with sociodramatic play, thematic fantasy play is less focused on the children's actual experiences, being also more likely to be plotted i.e. have an internal, logical, dramatic structure because it is based on a structured verbal text[15].

In the case of "Choosing a Bride" we have identified several types of non-verbal performance which can be classified as game (competitive game of dexterity, cooperative game and dramatization in the form of thematic fantasy play) and dance or a combination of the two. We have also identified certain gender markers. Finally, we will also point to some cultural markers intervening in the association of the verbal text with specific types of performance.

The following section offers a non-exhaustive list of the types of non-verbal performance of "Choosing a Bride".

1. Verbal text, song (vocalization/music) and dance

In some areas of Spain the verbal text was accompanied by dance rather than dramatization or game[16]. Two girls would join and hold their hands forming an "arch" under which the other players would pass under singing the song. The "arch" appears in various dances and could be associated with various songs and texts. In this specific case, it suggests a celebration of a successful match and marriage, in which all players participate by passing under the nuptial "arch" uniting the bride and groom. Dance stresses rthythmic movement and repetition at the expense of dramatization.

2. Dramatization: from socio-dramatic to fantasy play

This is a Sephardic example (Alkalay) from Bosnia, beginning of the 20th c[17]. Since the ballad consists exclusively of dialogue, the roles of the two characters engaged in dialogue are assigned to two players and the text is performed as a micro-play. The setting is a summer garden divided into two spaces. One has a central position, is symbolically open, active and public: it is a male space in which the two players playing male roles (groom and father of the potential bride) conduct the dialogue. The other has a peripheral, isolated position and is symbolically closed and passive: this is the female space where the rest of the players (the daughters) sit. The game ends with the symbolic opening of the female space and a "wedding" celebration with dancing. Unlike the previous example, dancing in this case assumes a secondary role because it appears only as the concluding segment of the dramatization. Although all the players are girls, there is a clear distinction of gender roles reflected in the organization and interpretation of space: central/peripheral, open/closed, public/private, active/passive.

[15] Saltz–Brodie 1982: 101.
[16] Lozano–Montoya–Cardenas 2007: 572.
[17] Pulido Fernández 1905: 79.

The informant, Maria Gross Alkalay, provided an interesting commentary. She points out that in her own childhood the game was interpreted as a fantasy because most parents of female children in Bosnia had to woo potential husbands, hoping they would not be expected to provide a dowry they could not afford. This meta-textual comment suggests that the thematic fantasy play was at the same time interpreted by some participants of the performance as a nostalgic remnant of past times in contradiction with reality. The gender marked participants of the play reinforce the interpretation of this performance as a girl's cooperative game taking the form of a direct dramatization of the verbal text.

3. Non-verbal representation of verbal text: linear structure of female space

A description of the Spanish game called *Hilitos de oro*[18] offers an explanation of the meaning of this specific title of the ballad. The players are girls sitting on the floor in a line – forming an *hilera* (like threaded pearls), each between the legs of the one behind her. The last one assuming the role of the mother, while the in line behind her are the daughters. The player playing the role of the groom's envoy (ambassador) approaches the mother and thus the dialogue begins. Here we have an important substituition of the character representing the bride's family: it is the mother rather than the father. This is reflected in the spatial positioning of the players representing the daughters. They are all female and positioned in a linear sequence beginning with the first in line – the mother – which impies a hierarchical order. The body position of the players – legs opened – has connotations both of sexuality and motherhood. However, the sequence is closed by the body of the first in line, the mother who symbolically guards the "door" of her daughters path to sex, marriage and motherhood. This interpretation stresses several points: the daughters are in a hierarchical line (the oldest or closest to the mother should be married first, the youngest last), marriage involves sex as well as motherhood, and the mother is the main guardian of girls' virginity. The emphasis on mother rather than father as representative of the bride's family moves the marriage motif from the male context (the male-male dialogue), to a female context (the male-female dialogue), stressing the fundamental biological and social role of women in family and society (bearing, raising and protecting children) and the importance of the female hierarchy within the family.

4. Non-verbal representation of verbal text: circular structure of female space

The game as it was played in Asturias towards the end of the 19th c.[19] exhibits a different spatial structure. Here the players, all girls, form a circle consisting of daughters. Two additional players assume the role of the characters conducting the dialogue: one plays the role of mother and is positioned inside the cricle, while the

[18] Rodriguéz Marín 1931: 672.

[19] *Pan-Hispanic Ballad Project*, no. 0224:7, catalogue no. 3303.

other playing the role of groom is positioned outside. The groom goes around the circle, while the potential "brides" stand sing without moving (which suggests their passivity). The groom picks one out and takes her away to a space outside the circle. Then he comes back, picks another one, and this is repeated until all the girls are taken away. Then all the girls lie down in the other space. As the mother and the groom approach each one they are supposed to stand up. Those that stand staight are considered fortunate, while those that stand in a crooked manner are considered less fortunate. Space is again symbolic: the circle centered on the mother is the bride's family, while the space outside the circle, to which the brides are taken, is the groom's family. The first part of the game seems to represent the pre-nuptial situation, while the second part represents the nuptials that take place in the space symbolically identified with the groom's family. Standing up straight involves sexual symbolism associated. This element of the game suggests that both the groom (assuming the role of husband) and the mother (responsible for preparing her daughters for marriage) expect the young wife to perform adequately.

5. Symbolic association with existing games ("El Castillo", a Spanish game) and male perspective

This is a Sephardic example from Bulgaria from the end of the 19th c[20]. Here the text is associated with a Spanish game known es "El Castillo". Unlike games considered above, this is a boy's game of dexterity. It is played with four nuts: three nuts are placed on the ground and one on top, so the arrangement looks like "a castle". The game was probably subsequently associated with "Choosing a Bride" through the symbolic interpretation of nuts as "brides" positioned in a hierarchichal order (the one on top being the most desirable), and the players with "grooms" that have to "choose" their respective brides blindfolded or arrange the "brides" in a certain fashion. The "castle" is also symbolic as it suggests the family of the bride as having a high social rank. Compared with all previous examples, here the relationship between verbal text and game is clearly a symbolic one (girls-nuts). It is distinguished from previous examples in two more ways: the fact that the game is a competitive one played by boys (suggesting a male perspective) and the lack of sexual symbolism.

6. Symbolic association with existing games (a non-Spanish game, "Tapša-lapša") and male perspective

Another Sephardic example from late 19th c. Serbia[21] links "Choosing a Bride" to an existing game which the informant, a representative of the Sephardic community of Belgrade, calls by its Serbian name *tapša-lapša* (from Serbian *tapšati*, to clap hands). The game is played in the following way: one player stands

[20] Kayserling 1890: XI–XII.
[21] Davičo 2000: 66–67.

still clapping his/her hands, while the rest are initially positioned at the same distance behind his/her back. Unlike the main player, who does not move (the "bride"), the rest (the competing "grooms") are required to move as fast as they can towards the main player. However, they must stop as soon as the latter stops clapping and turns around. Whoever is caught moving has to go back to the initial position. This is repeated several times and the first who reaches the main player is the winner. The subsequent association of this game with "Choosing a Bride" is based on a gender distribution of roles (one female, several male players) and their symbolic social markers (one bride and many grooms). This game, which is not gender marked when played without association with "Choosing a Bride", assumes a gender marked interpetation only when associated with this specific verbal text (which introduces gender distribution of roles). The linkage of "Choosing a Bride" and this specific game could have been influenced by a well-known Serbian proverb: *Ko prvi devojci, njegova je* [The first one to approach the girl is the one who wins her]. The Sephardic-Serbian intercultural contact appears to be a unique feature of this example.

7. A game performed by gender marked groups

The last example is found both in Latin America and Britain. In her book *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* Alice B. Gomme published 37 variants of "Three Knights of Spain". Regarding the performance she observed the following:

> The players stand in two lines, facing one another, three boys on one side and the girls (any number) on the other. The boys advance and retire dancing, and saying the first two lines. The girls stand still, one who personates a mother answers with the next two lines. The boys then advance and reply. When they are retiring the mother says the next lines and the boys reply; they then choose a girl and take her over to their side. The dialogue is generally spoken, not sung. The boys turn their toes outwards to show their spurs. The number of players on the girls' side is generally an uneven one, the odd one is the mother and says the dialogue. This is the most general way of playing, but there are interesting variations. Chambers says two parties play, one representing a dame and her daughters, the other the suitors. The suitors move backwards and forwards with their arms entwined. The mother offers her daughters when she says 'Smell my lilies'...[22]

Although in all variants of the game there are multiple brides, here there are also multiple suitors "who advance and retire dancing". The two main images – "spurs" shown off by the male players and the 'lilies' representing the future brides – project obvious gender marked symbolism[23]. I mention this British

[22] Gomme 1984: 275.

[23] Other versions indicated above also use flower images such as 'the budding rose' and the multiple flowers 'sniffed' by the 'horse'. A 'lily', especially a white one, stands for purity and virginity. As for the 'spurs' appearing in British versions, Gomme (279) offers the following commentary: "The mention of the spurs conveys the suggestion that the suitors or ambassadors are men of quality and renown. To win their spurs was an object greatly desired by all young men."

example because it very much resembles the way "Choosing a Bride" is performed in Mexico. This was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. María Herrera Sobek at the *42nd International Ballad Conference* held in Akyaka (Turkey) in October 2012, at which I presented a paper on "Choosing a Bride". According to Dr. Herrera Sobek's account, the boys and girls form lines and then alternately advance and retire dancing and with arms entwined, the boys taking one girl each time until all of them are taken.

Although it is not our goal to open the question of the possible genetic relationship between Hispanic and British versions, it is useful to note that in both instances the verbal text is linked to non-verbal performance (game and dance). Regarding the origin of the British *Three Knights of Spain*, Gomme comments in the following way:

> It has been suggested that this game has for its origin an historical event in the reign of Edward III, whose daughter Jane married a prince of Spain. There is some possibility in this, as doubtless the marriage was conducted by ambassadors first of all with pomp and ceremonial, but I think the game really dates from a much earlier period, and if there are any ground for connecting it with this particular royal marriage, it may merely have altered and fixed some of the words, such as 'daughter Jane', 'Lords from Spain', 'Spanish gold', in people's minds, and in this way tended to preserve the game in its modern form[24].

On the other hand, Spanish versions mention the "Moorish" king. What Spanish and British cultures share are strong monarchic traditions. However, the theme of marriage negotiation appears in other traditions in various forms not genetically related to "Choosing a Bride" and "Three Knights of Spain". Newell cites "a primitive type" found in Iceland where "a few years ago" the game was played by young adults:

> The women ask the men, as these advance, what they desire? The latter reply, 'a maid', that is, a wife. The inquiry now is, what will they give? It is answered, *stone*. This tender is scornfully refused, and the suitors retire in dudgeon, but return to raise their offer, and at last proffer *gold*, which is accepted, and the controversy ends in dance[25].

Here there is an overt commercial transaction, the buying of a bride, just as in some Russian versions in which "stone" and "gold" are replaced with domestic animals. Even today, in some societies and communities brides are sold and bought following negotiation between her family and the suitor or his representative. Considering the importance of marriage and the fact that negotiated marriages involving compensation for the bride were practiced in many societies, songs reflecting such practices feature common elements without being genetically related.

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[24] Gomme 1984: 279. The name of the daughter of Edward III was Joan, not Jane, which is the name of the bride in some British versions. Joan was betrothed to Pedro of Castille, but died of the plague in 1334 in Bordeaux on her way to Spain.

[25] Newell 1992: 42.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between verbal and non-verbal text can be viewed in terms of the signified-signifier relationship. The theme of the lyrical ballad featuring a three-segment structure is the basic signified. The latter is associated with two signifiers: one primary (verbal text) and one secondary (non-verbal text). The performance becomes heterosemiotic.

The non-verbal interpretation of verbal text brings a crucial change in terms of the relationship between performer and audience. The distinction between them fades as the (individual) performer is identified with the (collective) audience. The audience becomes a collective performer.

While the verbal text (in this case a lyrical ballad) features variations inherent to orally transmitted texts, it remains fairly stable in comparison with the multiplicity of non-verbal interpretations. The list of seven non-verbal interpretations identified in this article is not exhaustive, but even so they provide a sample for the study of types of variation.

Variations of non-verbal text range from referential linkage (enactment of the verbal text, dramatization, theme fantasy play) to symbolic linkage (of verbal text with pre-existing games, Hispanic and non-Hispanic).

In one instance, the linkage of the verbal text (Hispanic) with a specific game (Serbian) could have been fostered by an inter-cultural context.

Gender markers implicit in the verbal text are further stresses in the non-verbal language of games, especially in the articulation of space (male and female) and body language of players (position and movement). In instances of linkage of verbal text with pre-existing games, there is a tendency to stress the male perspective inherent in games of dexterity and competition. Other instances are examples of cooperative games more typical for girls.

In some instances game is combined with dance, the former emphasizing enactment of the verbal text and the latter stressing its rhythmical qualities.

The heterosemiotic nature of the performance of "Choosing a Bride" is conditioned by the fact that the lyrical ballad was transferred from the system of adult folklore into the system of children's folklore in which it interacts with other forms of children's activities. One important function of children's games is the socialization of children and their preparation for future social roles.

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THE AMBIGUOUS DRAGON: CONSIDERATIONS ON ABDUCTION AND MARRIAGE IN LEGENDS ABOUT THE FAIR OF THE TWO LANDS[1]

LAURA JIGA ILIESCU

ABSTRACT

For the Romanian inhabitants of the mountains, the *fair of two or three lands* refers to the annual meeting of people coming from different valleys and sides of the mountain (even if this means to cross the political borders of the neighboring states), who gathered in certain places located on the high plateau of the Carpathians, on the occasion of specific religious feasts in the summer. It was an opportunity to re-assume and negotiate the neighboring proprieties and also to establish further exogamous marriages. Related to these events, a corpus of legends recorded in the Southerner Carpathians area asserts that, in the times when the mentioned fair was hold on the high altitude, a beautiful and unmarried girl was kidnapped by a *zmeu* (anthropomorphic dragon), while she was dancing. Since that very moment, the fair place was moved down to the foot of the mountain, closer to a village, in order to defend the other girls by such possible further damages. Starting from the legendary level of these events, one goal of my paper is to suggest factual reasons of moving the fair down the mountain. In the frame of its marital function, the *fair of two lands* equally fulfills the needs of exogamous kinship and grants the control of the communities over the marriage with a *stranger*. In this regard, could the legends and the abductor dragon (which represents the *stranger* par excellence), express the decline or the reorientation of the marital function of the fair and, implicitly, of the relations between communities? The study also brings into attentions variants of the legends where the role of the abductor is played by a lion or by St. Elijah, inquiring over the meanings of such substitutions. As sources, this analysis includes both documents stored in archives or edited in printed version, and author's records made during fieldwork campaigns done in 2011 and 2012.

Keywords: Carpathian Mountains, marriage, shepherds, oral legends, lion, dragon, St. Elijah.

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[1] A variant of this article was presented at the conference "SPIRIT POSSESSION. European contributions to comparative studies" organised by the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Pécs, the Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The research was developed in the frame of the Romanian Academy postdoctoral programme POSDRU/89/1.5/S/59758, „Valorificarea identităţilor culturale în procesele globale", the project *Frames of Carpathians' Culture. Narratives, rituals, ceremonies, habitat within the local communities.*

E la munte sus, unde avem noi acolo, sus-sus, către Nehoiu... "Fața lui Sf. Ilie" a fost a noastră, a Găujanilor. Un munte fain, are o poiană întinsă și doi versanți, și în mijloc un izvor, iese izvorul ca pe mână, mai jos se mărește. Și aci, pă versantul ăsta, cum ieși la deal, cică a fost târgu'. Acolo ciobăneam vara, când eram la sterpe. Era ciobanii noștri de aici din Găujani; decât să piarză, cum să spui io, sau să să strice «Fața lu' Sf. Ilie», zicea: mai bine să-i strice grădina căsii. E aproape. O oră, ești la deal, n-ai ce-i face, trebuie să dai din picioare... Sute de ani de când s-a mutat târgul. E poveste demult. Era drumuri și peste munte, peste Nehoiu, și venea din Ardeal și din străinătate. Atunci a fost până-n Domnul Cristos. Se făcea fel de fel de minuni... rele, umbla zmeii pe pământ. Dacă era atâta lume străină se făcea bătăi mari, furturi mari, era oameni necunoscuți, oameni mari, ne povestea și nouă bătrânii cum le-a povestit și lor alții, că nici bătrânii pe care i-am apucat noi n-a știut de târgul ăla. Și era horă mare și era fete frumoase, venea de peste munte, fete mari, voinice; mai sunt și acuma, e ălea di pă la Târgu Mureș, maramureșene[2] de-elea, niște femei 'nalte, mari și roșii, și, și,... faine. Așa era și-atunci. Și a venit zmeii și a luat o fată din târg, de-acol din horă a luat-o. Și a zburat cu ea. Și n-a mai știut nimeni de ea. Și de-atuncia s-a spăriat toată lumea și n-a mai ieșit la târg acolo. Din anul ăla n-a mai ieșit nimeni acolo și l-a mutat aici la, în dealu' ăsta, la Titești. N-ai văzut noaptea, niciodată, câte-o stea, că uite-așa, lumină? Aia zice că-i zmeu. Zice că erau și călări... îmbrăcați ca oameni și călări... și a luat-o și a pus-o pă cai și a zburat cu cai cu tot. A trecut peste munți, mai știe cineva?

"It is high in the mountain; (...) high-high, toward Nehoiu[3]. The St. Elijah's Face[4] belonged to us, to people in Găujani. A beautiful mountain, with a wide opening and two flanks, and a spring in the middle, the spring comes out as in on hand, and forther on it grows larger. And here, on this side, as you reach the hill, they say that there was the fair. There I was shepherding during summer, with not milking sheep. There were our shepherds from Găujani; and, how to express myself, they said that it would be better to damage the garden of the house than than to break the „St. Elijah' Face" [the fair]. It's close. One our, and you are there; just have to keep moving your feet. There are hundreds of years since the fair's place was changed. It's a long ago story. There were roads over the mountain, over Nehoiu, and peoples came from here and from Transylvania, from abroad, as well. It was before Lord Jesus. In those days, there happened all sorts of wonders...bad wonders, the *zmei*[5] walked, here on the earth. Because of so many strangers [at the fair], big fights took place, there were thefts, there were foreigners (...). The aged told us about these things, as they learned from their aged, too, because not even the oldest attended that fair on the height. And there was a large dance, with beautiful girls, who came from over the mountain, vigorous girls; there still are nowadays – those from around Târgu Mureș, from Maramureș[2], some tall women, burly and red, and.... nice. And there was like that then, too. And there came the *zmei* and took a girl from the fair, he took her from the dance. And he flew away with her. And nobody knew anything about her anymore. And since then everybody got scared, and no one went there, to the fair. From that year on (...) they moved the fair down, at Titești. Haven't you ever seen during night time some star that lightens? That it is said to be the *zmeu*. Some say that they [the *zmei*] were straddling .... dressed like human beings and mounted.... And they took her and put her on the horses and flew together with the horses. They passed over the mountains, who could know?"[6]

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[2] Confusion between the Mureș administrative county and the region of Maramureș.

[3] The Negoiu Peak in the Făgăraș Mountains, 2535m high.

[4] *The face of a mountain* means its north side.

[5] Supernatural being.

[6] Recorded in 2003 by Laura Negulescu, from Gheorghe Popa, 78 years old, in Boișoara, Vâlcea County.

Here we deal with a story which explains a historical event through supernatural reasoning. My goal is to relate the legendary level with the factual one and, in this framework, to differentiate the figure of the *zmeu* as it appears in a group of narratives that share a common scenery – the girl kidnapped while dancing at the fair. It is my point that this represents a distinct subtype of the large category of the supernatural beings, generically named *zmei*, that are to be found in the Romanian and South-East European oral repertoire. Finally, based on this supposed discrimination, I hope to launch a hypothesis concerning the meanings of the mentioned abduction.

THE "FAIR OF THE TWO LANDS"

I shall make first a brief introduction to the historical, geographical and socio-ethnological contexts of the story above. The narrator refers to the so-called *fair of the two lands*, also known as *the fair on the heights* and as *nedee*, meaning the ritualised annual gathering of the communities living in different valleys and sides of the same mountain, in certain places located on elevated plateaus, on the occasion of specific religious feasts in the summer.

The general scenery of these *fairs of two lands* involved an initial departure to the upland plateau consecrated to the assemblage. Early in the morning the priest performed a religious service outdoor. Then people commercialized different sorts of goods. The second part of the day was dedicated to dancing, an opportunity for the unmarried attendees and for their parents, too, to meet and to know each other. Young men also showed their force and virility through drinking, wrestling and, of course, fighting. Old men would discuss and thus reinforced the boundaries between the mountains, as well as make other transactions, including the marital ones (with the implied question of the dowry). It was customary that couples which already had agreed to get married, before this event, and also the new formed couples, to be married by the priest in the very day of the fair, in a certain place located on the mountain. In the frame of its marital function, the *fair of two lands* seems to equally fulfil the needs of exogamous kinship (partners from different areas of residence), and grants the control of the communities over the marriage with strangers.

What I have just described is the ideal (static and simplified) and predictable scenery[7], which omits the irregularities that occur during a concrete and real fair. But, coming back to the legendary level of the facts, since the abductor *zmeu* expresses a major break in the usual current of people's gatherings, I propose to orientate the analysis exactly towards these irregularities.

[7] In its main points, the structure is common within the so-called inter-parochial and inter-valleys gatherings attested in other mountains of Europe (see Brunet 2001; Isnart 2008; Fabre and Lacroix 1974).

Legends about the *zmeu* which abducts girls were also recorded in relation with the dancing events organized *within* the village limits. When dancing inside a village, the attendees were known people. Such stories might have the warning function (wearing girls against dancing with strangers). On the contrary, the dancing context of the *fair of two lands* clearly assumes and claims the presence of strangers! Thus, what do "exogamous kinship" and "stranger" exactly mean in the specific case of these *fairs on the heights*, which took place on the picks of Meridional Carpathians?

THE HUMAN KIDNAPPER

There are around 110 peaks whose name preserves the memory of the *fairs of two lands*, that are spread over the entire Carpathians chain inhabited by Romanians. Excluding the new reinvented festivals, for about 100 years, none of them is still in use on its initial elevated plateau. But narratives that assert the cease of the *fair on the heights* as a consequence of the girl's abduction by a *zmeu* are still active in the repertoire of some communities. These are settled at the feet of a subgroup of the Meridional Carpathians, which surround the Latorița river, in Căpățânii and Parâng massifs, and part of Fagaras massif included in Lovistea county, on the south side, which correspond to Cindrel and part of Fagaras massifs, on the north side. More specifically, all legends I found on the topic under discussion are related to two fairs: the one on Nedeiu peak, and, respectively, on St. Elijah's Face peak, both of them being important junction points of the roads and of cutwaters, as well.

It is to underline the fact that, considering the territory of Romania, the Carpathian chain is located in the very middle of the country. The situation was different in the past; for centuries (starting with the medieval times up to the very beginning of the 20th century) the mountains worked as administrative and political borders which separated communities that shared Romanian language. As about the areas I focus, until 1918 they were included in the fluctuant political divide between Walachia and Transylvania (in general, placed *on* high plateaus). In those times, the border was crossed for certain reasons, one of them being the attendance to fair shared by two lands.

There were two periods when Romanian shepherds from Transylvania (who practiced the transhumance) moved and settled to the south sides of the mountains, in Walachia and in the northern Oltenia: the 15th–16th centuries, and the second one lasted from the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The new-comers lived together as compact groups in the already existing settlements or set up new villages. They preserve their sense of native appurtenance and keep the kinship and professional links with their relatives from over the mountains. It is to be mentioned that the phenomenon of settling on the other side of the mountains took place from south (Walachia) to north (Transylvanian) as well.

Related to the fair of two lands, which used to take place on the Nedeea Peak, and which was, at its turn, ceased because a *zmeu* abducted a girl (according to the legend), then moved down to Polovragi and/or Vaideeni (Gorj, North Oltenia), a more *realistic* story asserts that, while dancing here, a beautiful daughter of a boyar fell in love with a simple shepherd. Despite her father's opposition, the girl agreed to be abducted by his lover (in order to marry clandestinely). "But the boyar sent a group of armed lads and men that caught them while they were on their way to the church in Coasta Benghii"[8].

Geographically, Mount Coasta Benghii, with the mentioned church (nowadays destroyed), is near the south side of Nedeea Peak[9]. I must also specify that this church did not belong to any parish and it was placed in the heart of the mountains, far away from any village, yet close to the fairs' plateaus. In his 1935 book, Ion Conea[10] wrote that pairs of shepherds and shepherdesses connected at the fair (*luați din nedee*) were married in this church by priests from Mărginimea Sibiului (in Transylvania), Novaci and Bengeşti (both in northern Oltenia). In the region, the fair on Nedeea Peak (together with the mountain) is known to have belonged to Vaideeni village (Vâlcea County, in Wallachia), inhabited almost exclusively by shepherds that moved here from the south Transylvania. Demographically speaking, exactly the mentioned villages – Novaci, Vaideeni and Polovragi – have in the entire area an important community of Romanians shepherds, who emigrated about 250 years ago over the mountains, from Mărginimea Sibiului (Transylvania).

Putting the data together, two hypotheses might be suggested: firstly, the two highland fairs under discussion were dominantly specific to Romanian shepherds from Transylvania, and, secondly, their marital function consisted in reinforcing the links between the larger community that was spread over the two mountains flanks (resulting in marriages established on the base of common origin). In other words, both subjects refers to the issue of controlling/managing the matrimony, couples observing the criterium of "having the same geographical and professional appurtenance" (namely, in this very case, shepherds from Marginimea Sibiului). As a consequence, for those whose ancestors were born in Marginimea Sibiului, the stranger does not mean an unknown face, but an Oltenian native perceived as an *outsider* despite they cohabit the same settlement. Breaking the rules and kidnapping girls, with or without the girl's agreement, might correspond to a real situation[11].

[8] Ciurea Genuneni 1971: 27.

[9] An independent research and study on this enigmatic church is included in Jiga Iliescu 2013: 64–81.

[10] Conea 1935.

[11] In *The Typology of the Romanian popular legend*, the type nr 12543 refers to "The Nedeiul Mountain: (...) a boy kidnapped from the dancing arena the most beautiful Transylvanian girl and took her behind a crag. Hearing her crying, the other boys thought that she was kidnapped by a *zmeu* and followed them. They found the rock redden by the girl's flowers. Since then, the fair there has been ceased" (Brill 2006/I: 564).

The *fairs of the two lands* had been attested before the 18th century migration of Romanians from Transylvania to north Oltenia[12]. Thus, the above hypothesis refers strictly to one specific historical hypostasis of the fair of *nedee* (18th – beginning of 20th century), in a precise geographical area. However, in the following I will dive in deeper and less determinately historical times, dealing with folk beliefs and allegorical interpretation of the abduction.

THE SUPERNATURAL KIDNAPPER

The "ambiguous" *zmeu* enters the action. Because of so many hypostases in which this character plays in the traditional culture of Romanians and Slavs (each of them with its own specificities), I have deliberately not translated the word, and I confess that, even if the most common English translators' proposition is *dragon* (Ro. *balaur*, that partially corresponds semantically to its Slavic etymon *Zmey*, but which, in fact, are not totally synonymous), I could not find the appropriate and clear term to designate the abductor, as he appears in the narratives we deal with.

Keeping the discussion in the marital context, in Romanian folklore the *zmeu* appears as the one who kidnaps an unmarried girl, takes her to his shelter/cave/land and *lives together with her* (frequent euphemism for sexual embrace) until she is saved (or will not – the last situation occurs dominantly in the genre of memoratas and legends) by her further husband. As a sexual premarital initiator of virgins, this *zmeu* has anthropomorphic conformation, with features of wild virility (very tall and hairy), which might be decoded as an *alter ego* of the domestic husband.

But when I asked the narrators to describe the *zmeu* that came at the *nedee*, the answers referred to "a flame"[13], to "a sort of dragon (*balaur*), whose main force resides in his tail. With that tail he hits everything around him. That was his power. And the fire. The spot where he took that girl remained burnt"[14],or to "the devil, because the devil can take any form he wants"[15].

These descriptions remind us of another supernatural being, the *zburător* (literal translation is *the one who flies*), also known as *ceasu rău* (the bad hour), *lipitură* (the gluing), and... the *zmeu*[16]. This is a spirit with igneous consistence (flame, fire roll, star) and fluid appearance, however of an undetermined shape, which usually (but not exclusively) visit women in the state of a long sexual absence/abstinence (spinters, maiden who were not allowed to marry the ones they

[12] A document dated 1373 refers to a *Nedeea* mount in the Rodna massive; closer to the area we are focused on, a 1520 documents, which establishes the borderline between Oltenia and Ardeal, mentiones three toponyms *Nedeea* in the Retezat mountain (Conea 1935: 112–113).

[13] Ion Panduru, 72 years old, Baia de Fier, Gorj County, recorded by myself in 2011.

[14] Lazăr Zaharie, 56 years old, shepherd on Coasta Benghii Mountain, recorded by myself in 2012.

[15] Vasile Flondor, 68 years old, Baia de Fier, Gorj County, recorded by myself in 2012.

[16] During the fieldwork in the very area under discussion, I noticed that the term *zburător* is not at all used, but only *zmeu*, having the same meaning as *zburator* for other regions.

loved, lonely widows). During the day, it lives in hollows; during the night it enters the house through the chimney and gets the form of a *stranger* (handsome man or the desired lover) and tortures his victims while their sleep. His "dreaming-erotic activity"[17] marks both the body and the soul of the victim with the signs of sexual excess. The visited humans fall ill. The *zburător* does not enter the body of a human, but causes in it, from outside, uncontrolled reactions, as if she/he is possessed (in terms of altered state of consciousness) by an alien entity. The victim is "psycho-physic impassioned, fallen under the obsession of pathological hipper-sexuality, of fidgeting combustion of the senses, of illusory orgasm"[18]. In the ample study dedicated to possession and possessing phenomena, Éva Pócs mentioned the *flying fiery being, fiery dragon* "which, when it alights, appears as a sexual partner in the shape of a living person (for example absent lover or deceased husband) to the person of the opposite sex. As a regular visiting sexual partner it makes its victim fall ill, wither away"[19]. Pócs appreciates this *fiery dragon* as a variant of the "dead who attack human in the form of demons", sub-category of "*Mora/moro/lidéric* oppressing and incubus demons", whose attacks "seems to be an independent [from the possession phenomenona] system of communication, the essence of which (as opposed to, for example, demonic or divine possession) is supernatural communication between humans, through the demonic alter egos of man, and their spirits which survive beyond death"[20]. At least concerning the Romanian traditional legends, I think that one should excerce some caution when it comes to the decoding of the visiting *zmeu* as an alter ego of a desired man, or, in the cases of the widows as the spirit of the dead husband. The *zburător* is not a medium at the disposal of two lovers, but a self-contained entity, with own spirit and identity, who is shown as acting independently; in fact, he is the one who generates the specific sexual behaviour of the victim. However, he may also represent the materialization and external projection of the internal and unsatisfied erotic desires of the dreamer.

One could wonder whether the stories of the kidnaper *zmeu* (or *zburător*) contain allusions to a possibly excessive erotic dimension of the *nedee*. "There happened all sorts of deeds among the boys and the girls"[21]. In this respect, the abduction manner and context could shed some light. Part of this context is the girl's dancing, so we have to take it into consideration with more interest. One of the variants explicitly narrates how she was transported: "There came a handsome stranger who danced with her. And they danced, they danced, until they lifted in the air, it was like a turbulence. And he took her away. That was the *zmeu*".

[17] Vulcănescu 1987: 339.
[18] Vulcănescu 1987: 339.
[19] Pócs 2005: 108.
[20] Pócs 2005: 109.
[21] Euphemistically explained by an informant from Titeşti, 47 years old, recorded by myself in 2012.

I suggest here the entrancement dimension of the dance to be identified. With or against her wish, the *zmeu* seems to induce to his dancing partner the delirious out-of-control behaviour: she can not stop dancing.

Both trance (caused here by excessive dancing) and sleeping/dreaming, which presume the fainting of self-consciousness, are viewed as favourable to the communication with the supernatural. Here is the junction between *zburător* and the dancing *zmeu*, which equally attack from the outside while the person passes over such an uncontrolled state of mind. "This is what is called circumpossesio or obsession (...) or essence possession in the English terminology, or general possession. This type of possession is not concrete and personal"[22]. Thus, the narratives' warning aims not exclusively at the act of dancing with a stranger, but at any form of excess.

THE SUBSTITUTED KIDNAPPER

One of the ideas, which constantly was involved in the long process of symbolizing the mountain, is to identify the high altitude as a space that predispose to contact with the supernatural, that gets different hypostases and have different sorts of relations with humans, from one culture to another, from one religion to another, from one historical time to another. On the base of the Old and the New Testaments, the mountain/the height is designated as the main arena for epiphany. However, on mountains there are many kinds of „holy raptures".

a) The St. Elijah

In 2003, Ştefan Grozavu from Perişani, Vâlcea County, delivered a strange variant about the same *fair of the two lands,* which had been held on St. Elijah's Face Peak:

Aicea se făcea un bâlci, ca cum se face acuma, a coborât un nor puternic, de-aicea i s-a numit un om, s-a format un om (...). Şi acuma încă se moşteneşte tradiţia asta care, vedeţi şi dumneavostră, cu fluierile, cu ţărani, cu nu ştiu ce, aşa a fost şi atuncia... Şi norul ăla când a venit aci, în dealu' ăsta, aicea... zice că ar fi fost horă şi-a venit şi-a furat o fată de acolo, a luat-o... cum o fi fost timpurile ălea, ce ştiu? A luat fata... şi a plecat cu ea. Şi s-a numit Sf. Ilie. De-atuncea s-a numit că a venit Sfântu Ilie şi a furat fata. Şi a rămas tradiţie de târg mai întărit, mai puternic, mai capabil. Şi asta s-a numit, cum se numeşte, sărbătoarea lui Sfântu Ilie.

[There was a fair, as it is nowadays, and a strong cloud that descended over there, and a man took shape (....). Even dowadays we inherit this tradition, with pipes, peasants, ans so on, as it was by then. And that cloud which came here, on this hill, here, they say that it was a dance here, on the mountain, and when that cloud descended, he picked up a girl from the dance, he took her away... how it was in those time... I don't know... And he took the girl and went away

[22] Pócs 2005: 84–85.

with her. And he was called St. Elijah. Since then the fair has got this name, because it was St. Eljiah the one who kidnapped the girl. And this remained as a tradition of a stronger, more capable fair. And this was called, as it is still called, the St. Elijah Feast][23].

The intriguing presence of St. Elijah in the abductor's role is probably an informant's confusion, based on the similitude between the name of the mountains and the date of the fair (20th July, the St. Elijah's day). We can exclude it from discussion, because of its atypical aspect among the majority of the variants of the story recorded in the area[24] and everywhere else, or we can hypothetically speculate on it, within the larger context of the religious systems of beliefs and symbols, as expressed through other related narratives.

However, there are particularities of St. Elijah's life which might be put into relation with our story. Firstly, as shown in the Biblical texts, Elijah was very attached to the mountain. All his encounters with God (including the presence of Elijah at the Transfiguration event) took place on the mountain. Secondly, he himself was the subject of an abduction: the episode of his elevation to the sky through a turbulence[25], that remained in the popular memory as Elijah's kidnapping by God sent fire carriage and flying horses.

Complementary with the Biblical texts, a rich repertoire of oral narratives shows him, in the first part of his life, under the devil's influence: he was a thief and a murderer. Afterwards, thanks to his deep penitence, God forgave him and allowed him to cast thunders against devils. Too revengeful, he overused this power and God tempered his force (his right hand remained disabled). Elijah preserved his excessive nature and becomes angry each time when his holyday is not respected and ardently punishes people through thunders and lightening. This scenery is spread throughout the entire Romanian folklore, including the area we focus here. However, due to the fact that both St. Elijah and the dragoons are deeply assigned by the Romanian folk meteorology as being in charge with tempests and tunderstorms, some legends identifyed him as the master of dragoons or as the master of *zmei*[26]. Briefly, this might be the *ambiguous* Elijah who appeared at the *fair of two lands*: a character whose destructive behaviour inspires fear. Yet, he is not evil, but guards the religious system of holydays and rituals and acts when irregularities occur.

Starting from one single piece of information, we cannot transfer the features of *this* Elijah to the abductor *zmeu* (Elijah has nothing in common with eroticism or with any dancing, but does have with excessive behave), and thus to decode the girl's kidnapping as a punishment. From this point further, we need more data to speculate by saying that the *zmeu* was a late expression of *somebody else*, or that he *worked* as a divine agent.

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[23] Ştefan Grozavu, born in 1927, Perişani, Vâlcea County, recorded by Laura Negulescu on 20th of July, 2003.

[24] The ones I recorded in 2012 indicate only the *zmeu* in abductor's position.

[25] IV Kings II, 1.

[26] Muşlea, Bîrlea 1970: 390.

b) The Lion

Related to the fair on St. Elijah's Face Mountain, in 1935 Ion Conea recorded the legend that a lion came to the dance arena and took one girl away[27]. Unfortunately, Conea did not give more information on the frequency and circulation of this story in the area. Anyhow, he did not mention anything about a kidnapper *zmeu*, as if such variants were absent.

The motif of the lion's presence on the mountain occurs in a certain group of Romanian[28] Christmas ritual songs classifyed by Monica Brătulescu as type number 55, *The Lion*[29], with 3 subtypes.: A. the hero confronts the lion, he captures him and brings him [down] at his home; (...); B. the hero confronts the lion because he kidnapped his sister; C. the confrontation between the hero and the lion starts as a quarrelling concerning the sheep[30]. The performance of this song is dedicated to the bachelors in the village, with the ritual function of including them in the category of those able to wield prestige as further husbands. During each performance, the name of the young bachelor that proper performance is dedicated to, becomes the name of the hero of the song, at his turn a bachelor in the same position of being ready to marry. In this regard, the struggle of the hero with the lion is an allegory to a conflict between two sorts of masculinity: wild vs. domestic, fraternal vs. husbandhood[31].

In a few variants of this Christmas song type, the hero's opponent is not the lion, but the *zmeu.* Adrian Fochi, followed by Monica Brătulescu, considered the lion a substitute for the *zmeu*: "he [the lion] is a fantastic character (...) that hurts people, abducts girls, devastates the land"[32]. In other words, the lion acts like the *zmeu* does. May this (up to a point) interchangeability explain the variant of the legend which asserts that the girl's kidnapper was a lion? But how and why could be explained the substitution of the *zmeu* by the lion? Could we suspect the vice versa process? The *zmeu*, however, does not appear in the variants of this 55 type of Christmas songs recorded in the area we are focused here (the lion does).

It is well-known that in the Christian iconography Mark the Evangelist is symbolically represented as a winged lion. Though, in the area under investigation (the subcarpathian Oltenia and Lovistea zone) I found a very interesting picture on the Hurez Monastery's hospital church facade. Founded and consecrated in 1697 by Wallachia's King Constantin Brâncoveanu, this monastery was a very influent religious and cultural centre. The Apocalypse scenes here include the image of a lion-like animal that flies over the mountains or jumps from one peak to another.

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[27] Conea 1935: 151.

[28] According to Petru Caraman, the topic of the hero's struggle with the lion does not appear in the Bulgarian and Ukrainian Christmas songs. The assertion was enforced by further scholars (Taloş 2007: 8).

[29] Brătulescu 1981: 205–207.

[30] Analyzing 300 variants of the song (Monica Brătulescu noted only 97 variants), Ion Taloş identifies 4 types, the first one divided in 6 subtypes (Taloş 2007: 9).

[31] See subtype B.

[32] Fochi 1970: 103, quoted by Taloş 2007: 43.

In the Book of Revelation, the text allegorically speaks about two contradictory hypostases of the lion. Chapter 13 (1–2): "And the beast which I saw was like a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority"[33]. This character is of a devil's agent and our legend might have been influenced by it. In the painting of the Last Judgement, the image I speak about is placed in the register dedicated to the blessed ones, elected for eternal life. Thus, it is more appropriate to be decoded in concordance with Chapter 5, as the divine hypostasis of Jesus Christ: "And one of the elders saith to me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose its seven seals"[34].

May we credit the creators and storytellers of the legends about the girl kidnapped by a lion/*zmeu* with so high Biblical knowledge and theological abilities that to decode the Lion of Judah as Jesus Christ? Actually, we do not know who were these creators and distributors of the legend and to which social, economic, intellectual and religious milieu they belonged to, dominantly, in different epochs. There is no the place here to insist upon the phenomena of transferring a motif, a symbol, a narrative from one milieu to another, from the elevated one to the "popular" one or vice versa. This process is not a mechanical one, but supposes both formal and signification changes. The abundance of monasteries in North Oltenia (the main majority inhabited by educated monks) indicates an area with religious effervescence, extended from the very monastic milieu over the laymen, through pilgrimages, visitations, and itinerant monks.

Generally, in the Orthodox milieu of the pre-industrial times one of the reasons for painting the churches' walls was to deliver theological data and dogma towards uneducated and illiterate people. Those who were not able to read the sacred texts were able to see the images and to listen to the sermons given by priests that, during their performance, pointed the image they were speaking about (as attested). In Romanian Principalities, this catechetical practice, with an important impact over the worshippers' imaginary, beliefs and even narrative repertoire, increased starting with the 17th century and decreased toward the end of the 19th century. The acquired images, symbols and beliefs have been reshaped and reinterpreted (or abandoned). In other words and directly related to our subject, the allegoric lion was "read" in different keys by the legend's tellers and listeners of the 17th–18th century, on the one hand, and by those of the 20th and 21st century, on the other hand. In this regards, one has to wonder over the process of changing the symbolical meaning of the lion, from a Jesus Christ hypostasis (the Lion of Judah), possible a clergy and monastic contribution, to its opposite. In this stage of my research it is hardly to substantiate such a hypothesis, which may radically change the interpretation of the abduction I tried to deal with here.

[33] Webster Bible.
[34] Webster Bible.

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CULTURAL TRANSMISSION AND MECHANISMS OF FICTIONALISATION AND MYTHIFICATION IN ORAL NARRATIVES*

BOGDAN NEAGOTA

ABSTRACT

In this theoretical approach on the narrative traditions, we adopted a methodologically convergent perspective on the problem of the genesis of myth and fairy-tale, both originated in the belief-tale, seen as the tale with zero mythic-fictional degree, narrating a level fracture (IInd scheme). Contrary to Propp, we do not argue for the historic anteriority of archaic initiation rites for mythical ritualized belief-tales, nor for those fictional de-ritualized (the fairy-tales); we neither argue for their structural simultaneity (Lévi-Strauss). What we do is trying to give an answer in the terms of a cognitive anteriority and of a mythic-fictional pre-eminence. Our solution takes its point of departure in the idea that there exists a plurality of mythical-fictional worlds (Eco, Pavel, Meinong, Parsons) and of logical worlds (Kripke), as well as in the meta-historic approach (in terms of a re-defined historicity) of the relation between the immediate world and the other possible worlds. The process of mythification/fictionalisation is expressed by three inter-dependent themes: the immediate experience of a sacred reality (Eliade) and the mental experience of the *mind game* type (Culianu), the theme of ideal objects (Culianu) / fictional (Pavel) and, last but not least, the explanation of the genesis of cultural facts (as well as the religious ones). In this context, we analyse the fictional mechanisms through which the belief-tale passes from the condition of object of experience to that of ideal/fictional object, transgressing its epistemic coordinates. It is a reversible process, meaning that the mythical-fictional cycle, brought to a certain degree of mythic and fictional formalization, returns to the initial point, projecting over immediate experience the mental patterns of the imaginary. The following topics are addressed: the relationship rite – myth – fairy-tale and the hypothesis of the origin of the fairy-tale (Propp and Meletinski), the problem of the experiential origin of folk facts and of the mythic-symbolic conversion of reality (Eliade), the genesis of ideal objects (as mythic-narrative traditions), the cognitive rules and their transmission (Culianu), the structure of fictional objects, the ontologic status of mythic-fictional beings, the fictional *situs* of the belief-tale (Propp), the mythical-fictional veridicity and credibility (Propp, Pavel, Searle & Gabriel, Eco, Todorov), the fictional simulation and transvesting (Pavel), the fictionalisation of myth and the plurality of competing ontologic *paysages* (Pavel, Eliade). The theoretic-literary model we proposed is situated at the crossroads between proppian morphology, hermeneutical thesis Mircea Eliade's, a semiology of

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cognitive inspiration (Ioan Petru Culianu) and an integrationist theory of the fictional (Pavel).

Keywords: fictionalisation, mythification, cultural transmission, narrative, belief-tale, fairy-tale, experience.

The departure of this theoretical approach consists of a scheme designed with Ileana Benga, in 1998 (**Scheme I**), after having lived an intense ethnological experience in the domain of the oral narratives, developed on two levels: on one hand, there are the field researches from 1997–1998, organized by the Institute The Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, in collaboration with the Museum Complex of Arad, in Zarand region, aiming the monography of this area; on the other hand, we worked, in the same period, on the narrative material (memorates, fabulates and legends) of *Muşlea Manuscripts* (The Folklore Archive from Cluj), collected with the questionnaire method, with the purpose of taking notes and making the inventary of it.

On the field, the cognitive premises of what shall later become "the theory of fictionalisation" were configured during some extremely important moments. We are referring to the oral narrative traditions on recent events from the village life: the death of a man and his return as *strigoi* [revenant] with animal form (Dieci, 1997, June); the aggressions toward fertility of the living *Strigoaie/Bosoarce* [witches] specialized in stealing animal and vegetal fertility (Dieci – 1997, June; Păiuşeni – 1998, April; Crocna, 1998, July)[1]; *Vâlva Lupilor* [Sheperd of the Wolves/Werewolf] (Gurahonţ, Honţişor, Brazi, Crocna and Zimbru – 1998, July and November)[2]; the mythical-fictional complex of the *Vâlve* [Spirits], with demonophanies on different ontical levels – *Vâlva pădurii* [Spirit of the Forest], *Vâlva caprelor* [Spirit of the Goats], *Vâlva iepurilor* [Spirit of the Rabbits], *Vâlva bivolilor* [Spirit of the Buffs], *Vâlva apei* [Spirit of the River], *Vâlva casei* [Spirit of the House] etc. (Dieci – 1997, June). During all these situations, the ethnographer gathered a large number of sound-recorded narrative confessions, circumscribing a series of recent events from the village life, narrated in a more or less "baroque" manner (*id est* fictionalised). Yet, everywhere, the narrator-interlocutors spoke about the concrete experiences of some events they had witnessed, directly or indirectly (narratively mediated), and that they recounted/retold using the hermeneutical keys of the cultural tradition they had grown-up in. Thus, our interest moved rapidly from the problem of veridicality of the narrated events on that of the different fictional degrees they were narrated to, and on the narrative canvases that were interweaving – in the space around these events from the immediate reality – a second-level reality that is not less credible than the fact itself.

[1] On the narrative thematizations, in some villages from Zarand, of the magical-daemonical aggresions of the *strigoaie/bosoarce* against the vegetal and animal fertility, see Benga 2002: 261–280.

[2] Neagota 2013.

In the index activity on *Muşlea Manuscripts*, the first problem we dealt with was the inexistence of a unitary terminology. While indexing the narrative materials of the *Caietele Muşlea* [Muşlea Notebooks], the first problem we had to face was the inexistence of a unified terminology. In the files the *Archive* contained then, the narratives from the Auxiliar Literary Fund had various names – *păţanie*, *întâmplare adevărată/superstiţioasă* [true/superstitious happening], *legendă* [legend], *credinţă* [belief] etc., and the terminology did not respect any unitary formal criterium. The author/authors of that index had worked using different narratological bibliography, trying to reconcile the heterogeneous formal criteria (elaborated in the context of the theory of oral narrative genres) and the internal requirements of the narrative texts to be indexed (inter- and intra-textual clues)[3]. The index genre categories used by the archivist were inferred just from the ethnographical materials produced through field researches, according the methodological choices of the researchers[4].

As a consequence, our task of indexing the materials from the *Muşlea Notebooks* (Answers to Questionnaires 1–5) had neither firm formal references, nor a methodologically coordinating concept fixed as such by the predecessors and, as a result, we had to face all the advantages and disadvantages of an undulating itinerary. During a first stage, we realised that the faithfulness to the genre theory was not too useful because of the great thematic and narrative variability of the texts to be indexed[5]. The amplification and the adaptation of the European genre theory to the local narrative realities could only lead to elaborating an extremely tedious and inoperative casuistry[6].

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[3] The Romanian narrative material from the Institut "Archive of Folklore of the Romanian Academy", Cluj-Napoca (founded in 1930) was indexed by the ethnomusicologist Elena Hlinca-Drăgan (who made also the *Thematical Indexes* and the *Indexes of Villages & Localities* of the *Current Fund of Phonograph* and *Tape Recorder*, the *Musical Auxiliar Fund* and *the Literary one*), in the 7th and 9th decades of the 20th C. In the same period, the Hungarian narrative material was indexed by Gabriella Vöö and the Saxon one was typologized by Hanni Markel.

[4] Hlinca-Drăgan 2013.

[5] We don't want to approach here the impressive bibliographic dossier of the genre theory consacrated to the oral narratives. That is another topic that should become a critical study on various conceptual thematizations of this fluctuating narrative reality, hardly to be reduced to some schemas. We mention here only the distinctions between *belief story, belief legend* and *folk belief*, made from the perspective of the genre theory (Honko 1964: 5–19; Blehr 1967: 259–263; Bennett 1989: 289–311; Ward 1991: 296–303) and in the larger context of the relationships between teller and audience (Dégh 1965; Dégh–Vázsonyi 1973; Dégh 1995 and 2001).

[6] The following discussion with Mihai-Alexandru Canciovici, research worker at the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of Bucharest were extremely useful in re-thinking the indexing process of the narrative materials in the archive, using Propp's narrative functions as formal indexes and, implicitly, as search engines in the case of digitalising the folklore archives, and the separation from Thompson's analysis of motifs, an analysis that is inoperative in databases with multiple users because of the semantic imprecision and of the polysemy of the narrative mythical-fictional motifs (entirely and casuistically indexed in the 6 volumes of the *Motif-index of folk-literature*, 1955–1958). Although I am no longer involved institutionally (from December 1998) in the archive activity, I still hope and believe in the autochthonous archives' valorisation of this salutary piece of advice: giving up the motif-based indexing of oral narratives (on morphological criteria) in exchange for an indexing of a Propp-like type (building certain processing – instead of static – syntactic invariants, consisting of atomic sentences similar to the *cognitive rules* proposed by Culianu).

Therefore, we tried to unify the material according to a series of formal criteria, directly related to the narratives' content. For this reason, we preferred a more neutral term, *memorate* (plural *memorates*), already used in folklore studies to define an oral narrative from memory relating a liminal personal experience (valorized as an experience of the sacred)[7], preceding the legend, as an expression of the personal memory[8]. In other words, *memorata* is what the ethnologic interlocutor remembers, activating his own memory in a narrative aggregate that reconstructs the history – it does not reconstitute it – at the interstice between the lived fact, the cognitive rules of the inherited/learned local tradition and, of course, the fictionalizing mechanisms as syntactic units. The morphological material of these narratives varies (lived facts, heard facts, local stories learned through repeated listening), but ends up being subjected to certain fictionalising syntaxes that are reducible to a finite set of schemes.

Departing from certain assertions made by Toma Pavel in his *Fictional Worlds*, we have chosen to move away from the "principle of the closed text" and to abandon, at least temporarily, the textualist and inter-textualist explorations, ceasing to relate only texts, and trying to relate texts with the immediate life and, respectively, to their narrators. In other words, we have regarded the texts not only as narrative realities given in the act of storytelling, challenged during the ethnologic interview, but rather as generative processes. Apart from the texts themselves and the passion for typologising them, we were interested mostly in the fictional/mythifying mechanisms that had generated them. Therefore, we have moved the emphasis from the product-texts to the process-texts, taking into account, of course, the diachronic dimension behind them, and the fact that they were the result of conjugating the individual fictionalising capacities and the diachronic intertextual processes that constitute, finally, what we call a cultural tradition. The storytelling act that we have so many times captured *in actu/in statu nascendi*, is a nodal point of the individual creativity (the fictionalisation produced by each narrator separately) and of the collective one (the dominant fictionalising, produced by more members of a customary community that gets constituted as a true narrative fictionalising pattern). In other words, the individual confabulating processes are not disjunctive when related to the local fictionalising tradition, but congruent with these from an epistemic standpoint. The events that occur periodically in a village life and, especially, the fictionalising narrativisation of

[7] In classical Latin, the term is attested as a perfect passive participle of *memorō* (remind, recount) *memorātus* (m.) *memorāta* (f.) *memorātum* (n.): reminded, having been reminded; told, uttered, having been recounted. As noun, is attested with two forms: (1) *memoratus, -us* (m.) [*memoro*]: a mentioning, relating ; a mention, relation (ante-class. and post-Aug.) (Freund–Lewis–Short 1891); the action of relating, mentioning; a report, account (forms only in dat and abl sg.) (Oxford Latin Dictionary 1968); action de rappeler, de raconteur (Gaffiot 1934); (2) *memoratio, -onis* (f.) [*memoro*]: a mentioning (Freund–Lewis–Short 1891); the action of remembering, memory (Oxford Latin Dictionary 1968); action de rappeler, récit (Gaffiot 1934).

[8] Von Sydow 1948: 60–88; Dégh–Vázsonyi 1974: 225–239.

these events feed what the ethnographers recurrently call the local cultural tradition, while the oral historians call it the local historical memory, reifying it creatively. The storytelling act reproduces the local tradition creatively and feeds it again, rendering its transmission in time possible.

So, synthesizing the ideas above, we consider the narrative act to be an epistemic node where both individual confabulating processes and trans-individual/community processes are interwoven. More, what we understood in a storytelling ethnographic afternoon, in June 1997, in Dieci, is the importance of what we called, back then, the kaleidoscopic reconstitution of a liminal event, by means of challenging the stories of as many witnesses and listeners as possible. We recorded thus more stories on the same event: the return of a dead man as a trouble-making *strigoi* [revenant], seen especially as a rabbit. Later, we amplified this type of research in the area of Gurahonț, exploring the various narratives on this character living in an isolated place, surrounded by forests and neghbouring three villages (Gurahonț, Honțișor și Brazi).

Even more, being faithful to the model of cultural transmission advanced by Culianu in *Out of this World: Otherworldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Albert Einstein* (1991), we have approached the phenomenon of fictionalisation both in its individual dimension (a fluctuating and variable one, depending on the *ingenium*), and in its collective/community one (the fictionalisation understood as an act of cognitive transmission of a cultural tradition, built and rebuilt periodically by assuming creatively *the cognitive rules*).

Following Toma Pavel's terminology[9], we called *fictionalisation*, the process through which a liminal human experience is transformed in a totally new, fictional document, adapting the lived experience to a culturally transmitted narrative pattern. The other theoretically-rooted point was given by Mircea Eliade's interwar theses concerning the "archetypal function of the folkloric creation" and the mythical reduction of human history and existence: the dialectics between collective memory and mythification, the conversion of mundane events into mythical categories and of the historical characters into archetypes, due to the impersonal dominant and to the ontological vocation of the archaic mentality[10]. In this respect, we have tried to unify the material according to a series of formal criteria, directly related to the content of these narratives. In the present text, we try to circumscribe certain theoretical premises of this never-ending enterprise whose object is the story of each of our interlocutors as a *never-ending-story.*

Of course, the terminology we adopted had a rather propaedeutic value, but it proved to be useful to the aim we were following – to establishing certain differences between the various *memorate*, less from a morphological perspective,

[9] Pavel 1992: 125–132.

[10] We cite here a series of interwar works by Eliade, where he circumscribes the problem of mythification within traditional societies: Eliade 1992 [1943]: 66–69; 1992 [1938]: 145–147; 1992 [1939]: 147–150; 1992 [1937]: 166–181; 1992 [1939]: 301–304.

and more from the standpoint of referentiality and the subsequent degree of characters' "elevation"[11]:

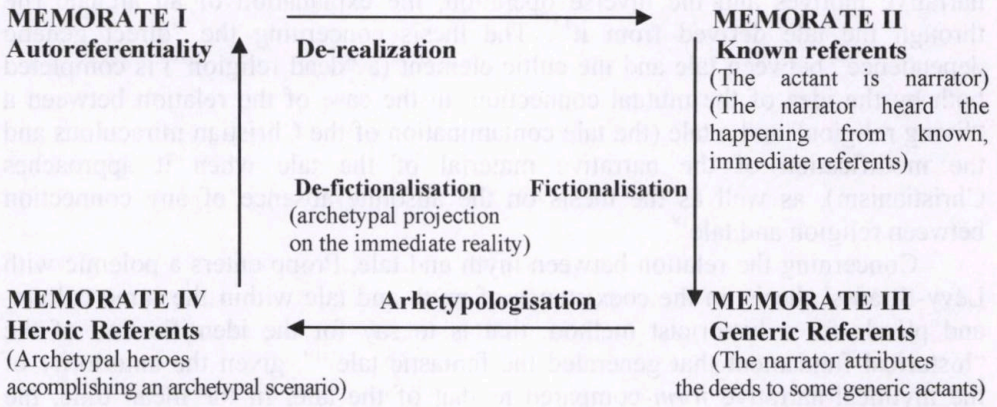
1. *Autoreferentiality*: the narrator is an actant, too, telling in the first person singular an experience he/she has lived, thus supporting the autoreferential veridicality of the narrative. In this context, one could suppose that fictionalisation is less intense than in other situations, given the fact that the fictionalising mechanism is, first of all, challenged by personal memory – a memory that has undergone the double hermeneutical pressure of the narrative tradition that the teller belongs to, that is to say the individual one – autoadapting to the tradition, and the communitarian one – through the audiences's direct intervention during the storytelling, and the correction of the narrative according to what one wants to hear, as stated by the cognitively transmitted narrative rules (I. P. Culianu). Testing the fictionality degree could be equivalent to the repetitive questioning, at distinct time intervals, of the same subject, asked to tell the story of a specific event. The phenomena observed this way are the forgetting of certain empirical details and the compensatory fictionalising movement, the modification of the verisimilitude criterion (from the verisimilitude of the empirical evidence to that of the fictional), the gradual substitution of the evidence of lived/experienced reality through imaginary evidence, the passage from immediate reality to the imaginary, the "imperialistic" tendency of the *memorate* to agglutinate, as well, experiences that are distinct from the originary, initial one. The fictionalisation of the lived events is diverse, according to their nature (daily, magical, historical, etc.) and, consequently, the resulting types of narratives shall be different. The act of forgetting the prime reality is over-compensated by the construction of a different reality, just as plausible as the previous one.
2. *Known referents*: the storyteller heard the story from persons he knows and, in this case, the freedom towards the subject is greater than in the first case. The storyteller supports the veridicality of the story by invoking the name of the one who lived that experience. On this category of *memorate*, one can study the communitarian fictionalising mechanisms, by means of questioning more subjects on the same topic, at distinct time intervals. One can observe that the same event or fact is on distinct stages of fictional aggregation, varying from one teller to another. Some people had forgotten the event or refuse to recount it, while some remember more details than others. The collected *memorate* differ in their own capacity of fictionalising distortion (some fictionalise more than others). The classification of the resulting narratives is done depending on the nature of the facts they are fundamented on, and on the categories of subjects that perform/transmit them. The statistics of the privileged narratives inside a community has to be constantly renewed, in order to observe the

[11] Frye 1972; cf. Neagota 2005: 112.

mutations that happen at the level of the collective imaginary and of the mentalities, aiming at a mytho-diagnosis[12]. This is possible by determining the communitarian "set of cognitive rules", rules that are rethought periodically and constitute the live "cultural tradition" of that community[13].

3. *Unknown, generic referents*: the storyteller attributes the story to somebody in his village or in a different one (formulae such as "somebody from our village once went to the woods"). At this level, both some local and some *migratory legends* are situated.
4. *Heroic referents*: the storyteller narrates a legend or a fantastic tale, whose veridicality is implied by the *fictional pact* between him and the audience. The fictionalisation square is being closed through the act of projecting *the cognitive rules/narremes* (the fundamental elements of a story) on the immediate reality, thus pre-shaping its *horizon of expectations* for new fictionalisations of lived contents, recharging its fictionalising potential.

Scheme I: *The Fictionalisation Square*[14]



This way, the movement is double: *de-realising* some immediate situations (through their symbolic mediation) and the *de-fictionalisation*, "*the realisation*" of certain fictions by projecting them on some immediate situations and characters. The *memorate* are exemplary in this regard, recorded by us in Zarand, focusing on *bosoarce* (the case of the woman suffering from varicose ulcer, about whom people would say she was a *bosoarcă* and that she owed the wound to some night travels as a cat, stealing the milk from the villagers' cows) and on *Vâlva lupilor* [Werewolf/Sheperd of Wolves] from Gurahonț, a liminal character, situated at the intersection of nature and culture, on whom the villagers nearby project the classic *naremes* about the *vâlve* of the cultural tradition of the place.

[12] Durand 1998: 301–316.
[13] Culianu 1994: 40–41.
[14] Neagota–Benga 2000: 9.

The problem of tale genesis (*memorate* IV, in the terminology we advanced) had been traditionally tackled through reductive approaches that related it either to historical fundaments (the diffusionism), or to meta-historical fundaments: psychic (the oneiric theory, the Freudian or Jungian psychological allegorism), anthropological and mythological (the mythological and neo-mythological school, the physicalist allegorism originated in Max Müller's ideas). We shall briefly stop at the rite-tale and myth-tale sequences, that is to say at the attempts at defining oral narratives from the perspective of the two anthropological poles (the gesture and the word[15]), selecting the theses proposed by Vl.I. Propp and Eleazar M. Meletinski.

Following the French ritualistic school (A. Van Gennep and P. Saintyves), Propp supports the idea that the tale is generated by secularising the puberty and heroic initiation rites, due to some conversion mechanisms that lead to the radical resemantisation of the rite: distortion, change in motivation and attribution of new, profane significances that free the sacred subject and the storytelling act from the cultic conventions[16]. The consequence of this method consists of practising a genetic comparatism between the tale and the supposedly origin myths of the narrative motives and the inverse operation, the explanation of an archaic rite through the tale derived from it[17]. The thesis concerning the "direct genetic dependence" between tale and the cultic element (a "dead religion") is completed both by the idea of the mutual connection, in the case of the relation between a "living religion" and a tale (the tale contamination of the Christian miraculous and the modification of the narrative material of the tale when it approaches Christianism), as well as the thesis on the absolute absence of any connection between religion and tale[18].

Concerning the relation between myth and tale, Propp enters a polemic with Lévy-Strauss' thesis on the coexistence of myth and tale within the same culture, and pleads for a historicist method, that is to say for the identification of the "historical fundament that generated the fantastic tale"[19], given the anteriority of the mythical-narrative *form* compared to that of the tale. In the mean time, the morphological criterion is considered as inoperative, given the fact that both identical or related myth and tale compositional systems, and totally different narrative systems are attested. Propp uses the criterion of credibility when classifying the oral traditional narrative (the humane attitude towards them), and he divides them into two large groups: "stories that are not believed in" (all types of stories) and "stories whose veridicality is or used to be trusted" (all other types of folk narratives)[20]. To this purpose, he advances the idea of operating the distinction

[15] Cf. the two sequential series of isomorphisms (sacred→kratophany→magical thinking→ ritual →cult and sacred→hierophany→religious symbol→myth→dogma) in Codoban 1998: 96, 154.

[16] Propp 1973: 13–14, 464.

[17] Propp 1973: 15–16.

[18] Propp 1983: 666–668.

[19] Propp 1973: 3–4.

[20] Propp, 1990: 24.

between tale and myth based on a system of "organic" or social distinguishing features: ireality vs. reality, non-veridicality (the disbelief in the veridicality of the narrated events) vs. veridicality, profane character vs. sacred character, entertainment value vs. cultic and magical-religious value, tale with aesthetic character vs. tale with religious character[21].

Meletinski approaches the idea of the relation between myth and tale from the perspective of a method of invariants, through which he attempts to describe the "primitive ideological syncretism". He operates with an *optimum* (maximal) number of theoretical "differential indexes", selected according to the criterion of *the manner to interpret myths and tales by their own carriers*[22] and according to the criterion of *the proper content*[23]. Of course, not all of these invariants are detectable practically and, to this purpose, in order to make them operative, one can reduce them to three (a minimal number) constant and obligatory indexes (III, VII and VIII). The passage from myth to tale would be gradual because of the de-sacralisation of the myth and the discrediting of the narrative's veridicality, but this process does not end immediately through the emergence of *the conscious fiction*: a secularised myth does not automatically turn into a tale. The system Meletinski proposes renders the reasearch of the relation between myth and tale possible, both at a diachronic level (the binome archaic myth-classic tale) and synchronically (the coexistence of the myth and the tale within the same "primitive" culture, next to the subsequent intermediate forms: "tale-myths" or "myth-tales")[24]. Meletinski also elaborates a poetics of the myth, examining the syntagmatic connections, the systems of similitudes and oppositions, as well as the mytho-poetic fundaments of literature. Unlike the representatives of the mythological theory and the ritualists, he does not look for the tracks of the mythic motifs in modern literary genres, but for the persistence of the myth as a way of thinking. The way he conceives it, the myth is a semiotic phenomenon that, inside archaic societies, becomes a total social pact (in Durckheim's ideas), being transmitted through a metaphoric expression with a strong metonimic dimension and a semantic content[25].

This type of genetic question regarding the origin of the tale has thus blocked the research on traditional oral narratives for a long time, condemning it to a

[21] Propp, 1990: 24–29.

[22] (I) ritual character/non-ritual character, (II) sacred/profane, (III) veridical/non-veridical or absolute veridicality/relative veridicality, admitting fiction, (IV) concrete ethnographic fantasy/poetic fantasy.

[23] (V) mythological hero/ non-mythological hero, (VI) the time of action during prehistory/the time of action outside history, (VII) the presence of the aetiological/its absence or aetiologically substantial/aetiologically ornamental, (VIII) the collective, cosmic character of the narrative's object/individual character.

[24] For an *in extenso* exposition of the thesis, see Meletinski 1970: 142–148; cf. Meletinskij–Nekljudov–Novik–Segal 1977; Roşianu 1973: XIV–XV.

[25] Meletinski 1998: 152–158.

cognitive dead-end. In addition, the obsession for the identification of origins (metahistorical or historical[26]) found solid epistemological fundaments in the method of the invariants[27]. These invariants can range from historical (the Finnish school) to metahistorical: transformative-morphological (what Propp calls *indexes/functions*[28]) and structural (Alan Dundes, Claude Bremond, Tzvetan Todorov, Gérard Genette, Claude Lévi-Strauss). The process of defining the tale and the myth through "distinguising features" as compared to other genres, leading to a perspective on the other genres as simple narrative "phonemes", can only function on limited sections (the comparison of a myth and a tale belonging to the same morphological class). When moving to larger comparisons, the "atomised" invariants become inoperative, given the fact that the "tolerance spectrum" is too wide and flexible for the analysis of the distinguishig features, while the various genres can be defined through opposite features. The proposed classes of invariants are not operative when one proceeds to "incomplete inference", meaning that a simple deviation from the established norm endangers the entire system of oppositions if the delict body is not taken away or one does not look for explanations of the exceptions outside the proposed model (sociological explanations, for instance). Yet, in this case, the invariants' analysis is not universally applicable and, although "it functions perfectly for defining an individual text and even a class of texts, it is nevertheless insufficient for defining the whole spectrum of present options..."[29]. Besides, Propp himself admits the impossibility of identifying certain invariants common to more narrative genres (given the specificity of their poetics) and the failure of a general transformative theory[30]. Propp's confession is even more important given the fact that, for the Goethean morphologist in him, elaborating the transformative rules (aiming at the identification of the invariant, that fundamental *Ur-Type* in relation to which all tales are transformations[31]) is just as important as the individuation of the genre invariant[32]. The result – the fragility of the various narrative divisions imposed (Carl W. von Sydow, Käte Hamburger, André Jolles, Vladimir Y. Propp, Linda Dégh), disregarding the criterion used (the poetics of genres, the character of the protagonists, etc.) and, finally, the impossibility of unifying the international

[26] On the elementary confusion between the origin of a phenomenon (*origo*), prone to critical analysis by means of a trans-historical method, and its start in time (*initium*), prone to identification with a historicist method, see Jaspers 1970: 151–152.

[27] Marino 1998: 63–91.

[28] In *Morphology of the Folk Tale*, Propp had reversed the traditional perspective, asking a fair question: "it is clear that, before answering the question *where does the tale come from*, we must clarify *what exactly the proper tale represents*" (V.I. Propp 1970: 9).

[29] Culianu 1995: 83–84.

[30] Propp 1990: 24–41.

[31] The morphological similitude is the result of a genetic connection, explaining also the theory of the emergence of species through repeated metamorphoses or transformations (Propp 1983: 662).

[32] Steiner 1991: 96–108.

terminology, at least concerning a series of intermediary genres having a fluid structure (like the *memorate*).

The Structuralist narratologies remained faithful to a set of dogma (mythocentrism, semantic fundamentalism and textualism[33]) that led to self-sufficiency and suffocation, limiting even the area of questions allowed within the research: the idea of the plurality of the worlds (real, fictional, etc.), the problem of fictional truth, of referentiality and of hermeneutic meaning, the nature of the fictional and its relation with reality. Breaking away with the intellectual monopoly practised by Structuralist semiologies made it possible for a rebirth, during the 60s and the 70s, of some new literary-theoretical methods, at the border between modal logic, the semantics of the possible worlds and the speech act theory. Only when the Structuralist model was surpassed, the question regarding the relation between reality and fiction, as well as the approach of oral narratives at the border between experienced facts and transmitted narrative models, would become legitimate. This is even more important in the case of studying those narrative genres (the same type as the first three degrees of *memorate*), in which case approaching the primary source (the experience) is essential.

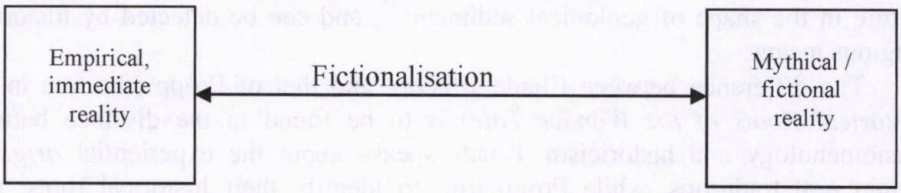
Without pretending that we are elaborating a unifying theory on the origin of the tale and the myth, we could advance the hypothesis of the fictional – instead of the historical – anteriority of the *memorate* in relation with the tale or the myth (we refer to the first three fictional degrees from **Scheme II**). In other words, the *memorate* is the primary narrative genre that, in different cultural contexts, being subjected to isomorphic processes of fictional alteration and formalisation, undergoes a series of successive transformations, turning into legend, tale or myth. It moves from the conditon of *object of experience* to that of *fictional* (Pavel) or *ideal* (Culianu) *object*, radically transfiguring its fictional condition. Of course, this only represents the first half of the problem, where we situate the reference in the immediate reality or the narratively mediated one. We are far from pretending that all tales and all myths originate in a fictionalised experience, but at least some part of them deals with a fundamental/founding experience of the real. At the other extremity of the issue, we have the fictional worlds, with their own determinations and functioning mechanisms, and with an ontological legitimacy that is equivalent to that attributed by modernity to the empirical world. In this context, as a starting point, one could say that fictionalisation is a process unfolding between the two extremities and that it functions as an ontological link, similar to that attributed to religious symbols; besides, the symbol is one of the essential ingredients in this fictional "trans-substantiating" process of the empiric reality and of narrative materialisation of the fictional or mythical reality, depending on the degree of secularisation of the culture where these things happen. Between the two extremities, a large variety of narrative genres is traceable, on various degrees of

[33] Structuralist narratologists have partially managed to escape the trap represented by the principle of the closed text by postulating *intertextuality*; see the critique advanced by Pavel 1992: 3–14.

Scheme II: *Mythic-Fictional Levels*

THE DERITUALISED MYTHICAL MEMORATA **Mythical-heroical referents** (Heroic or divine actants. The myth is decontextualised from a cultic point of view and reduced to its aesthetic function. Minimal religious veracity, highest fictional veracity)	← *DECONTEXTUALISATION* ← *(DERITUALISATION)*	**THE RITUALISED MYTHICAL MEMORATA** **Mythical-heroical referents** (Human actants who tell and repeat ritually the inaugural acts of the heroic or divine actants. The myth is developing in ritual context, having a religious intentionality. Highest religious veracity, minimal fictional veracity)
↓ *DE-MYTIFICATION* (mythical projection onto immediate reality) ↓		↑ *MYTIFICATION AND RITUALISATION* ↑
THE Ist MEMORATA **Self-referentiality** (The actant is the story-teller. The immediate experience of the reality. Highest veracity)	→ *DEFAMILIARIZATION, DEREALIZATION* →	**THE IInd FICTIONAL MEMORATA** **Known referents** (The story-teller has learned the tale from known actants. Relative veracity)
↑ *DE-FICTIONALISATION* (archetypal projection onto immediate reality) ↑		↓ *FICTIONALISATION* ↓
THE IVth FICTIONAL MEMORATA **Heroic referents** (Archetypal heroes accomplish an exemplary scenario. Fictional veracity)	← *ARCHETYPOLOGIZING* ←	**MEMORATA III** **Unknown/generic referents** (The narrator attributes the facts to the generic referents. Plausible veracity)

fictional aggregation: some, like *memorate* I, are closer to the direct, still narratively unprocessed experience, while others, like the myth and the tale, are closer to the mythic and fictional pole. In addition, one has to mention the fact that the worlds mentioned are theoretically infinite in number and that they are not situated on parallel ontological levels, but glide instead, interfering and overlapping continously.



In both cases, the idea of the experience emerges – first, an experience that is close to the degree zero of fiction (insofar as such an assertion would have a cognitive basis); secondly, as the mental experience of *an ideal/fictional object*; what remains is the communication act, the storytelling, constituting itself as a founding experience, functioning as the ontological and communitarian bond. The new perspective on fictionalisation, made plausible by the semantics of the possible worlds, frees the analytical attempt from textual captivity and from the control of the semantic fundamentalism, trying to explain the phenomenon in a distinct manner, when compared to the postulate of world plurality. Further, we shall try to define the constituent concepts of our work hypothesis.

The concept of experience, with an entire history in the interwar Romanian culture[34] is used by us with two meanings: that of the concrete experience of the real (Eliade) and that of mental experience, of "mind game" (Culianu). In the first case, we are talking about postulating a concrete experiential basis for a part of the folkloric beliefs and narratives. We include almost the entire quotation, even more so since Eliade's thesis (1937), although known and used in university bibliography, continues to be ignored by the ethnological community: "*certain primitive folkloric beliefs are based on concrete experiences*. Far from being *imagined*, they express, in a hazy and incoherent manner, *happenings* that the human experience accepts between its limits. (...) At the fundament of people in an "ethnographical phase", as well as of civilised people's folklore, there are *facts*, not *fantastic creations*. (...) Obviously, when claiming that popular beliefs are *based* on concrete experiences and not on fantastic creations, we do not ignore all those processes of altering and exaggerating reality, processes that we consider to be specific to "the primitive mentality". Folklore has its own rules; *folkloric presence* fundamentally modifies any concrete fact, endowing it with new significance and values. (...) Still, *the initial fact* is *an experience* and this has not been emphasized enough so far.

[34] Vanhaelemeersch 2006: 252–311.

Regarding the second consequence of our research, it could have a tremendous importance. This is an effect of the fact that, given that ethnography and folklore provide us with documents of an *experimental* origin, we are entitled to trust, to a certain extent, *all* the beliefs that ethnographers and folklorists collect[35]. More than that, the folkloric facts are considered to be "authentic documents", even if they consist of "miracles, impossible things"[36]. These documents persist in the popular culture in the shape of geological sediments[37], and can be detected by historical-religious means.

The difference between Eliade's theory and that of Propp (the one in *The Historical Roots of the Wonder Tale*) is to be found in the distance between phenomenology and historicism: Eliade speaks about the experiential *origin* of certain oral traditions, while Propp tries to identify their historical roots, their temporal *beginning*. For Eliade, the founding experience of an entire class of mythic-magical *memorate* is an experience of the sacred – the encounter between a human being and *Fata pădurii* [The Daughter of the Forest], for instance, marked by breaking the level of coherence. But, in this context, the *belief-tale* is justified hierophanically, constituting itself as a narrative explicitation of the hierophany itself. Unlike the linguistic sign of Saussure and the structural invariants modelled on it (Lévi-Strauss' *mythemes*, for instance), the mythical *memorate*, the symbol and the myth (as a "dramatised symbol") are not arbitrary, but hierophanically justified by the experience of the sacred itself.

Culianu's perspective on the idea of experience comes from a totally different direction. The references to the classical concepts of phenomenology of religions are totally lacking, and the method advanced is a cognitivist-inspired semiology, far from any hermeneutic approach. For Culianu, the religious experience is a mental experience based on *mind games*, similar to the game of chess, operating with a cognitive set of rules in order to create *the ideal objects* (mythical-narrative traditions, religious systems, etc.). The issue of the authenticity of the experience changes radically depending now not on a sacred reference, but on previous experiences, the way these were defined within oral or written documents. This entire process takes place due to the inter-textual mechanism[38] and leads to the "alteration" of the present experience through the contamination with mythical-narrative models considered to be "ancient and venerable". But, in this situation, the subconscious convergence between the "new, fresh experience" and the

[35] Eliade 1992 [1937]: 172, 177–178.

[36] Eliade 1992 [1937]: 174.

[37] "Today, one can discover, inside the folklore, forms pertaining to more *eras*, representing various mental stages. (...) Only few folklorists understand that popular memory, just like a cave, has preserved authentic documents representing mental experiences that the present human condition not only makes impossible, but even *impossible to believe*" (Eliade 1992 [1939]: 303).

[38] "Our mental tendency to mould every new experience into old expressive patterns", a "mental phenomenon" that "refers to «texts» sometimes written down, but mostly unwritten" (Culianu 1994: 40–41)

previous experiences "supposes a mental synthesis of more elements, an active processing of the new event, one that is not a simple repetition of something from the past"[39]. Placing himself along a lasting polemics with historicism, Culianu advances a new model for the propagation/diffusion of ideas, according to which what is being transmitted are not the texts, but a series of general hermeneutic principles having a paradigmatic value or a series of "more or less similar *set of rules*" that would generate "predictable ideas for the start" and "similar results *in the minds of people* for a virtually endless time span"[40]. Thus, the relation between experience, cognition and cultural tradition (as *ideal object*)[41] must be retaken into account/rethought according to the new perspective: "we understand cognitive transmission as an active rethinking of tradition, based on a simple set of rules, as well as the fact that such a participation to tradition of each individual explains very well the existence of certain beliefs and practices. Each individual thinks inside the frame of a tradition and, as a result, is "being thought" by it; within this process, *he reaches the cognitive self-certitude that anything that is thought about is experimented and that, similarly, anything that is being experimented has an effect on what is being thought/is thought about*"[42].

Regarded from Culianu's standpoint, the fictionalisation can be redefined as a process through which a certain set of cognitive rules is being reconfigured, revaluating, due to intertextuality, a cultural tradition assumed according to some basic narrative patterns (*narremes*). What slightly complicates things is the absence of a clear definition for the *cognitive rule*, an understandable fact in the context of a work left unfinished. Beyond the "elementary" and "formalisable"[43] character, *the rules* preserve certain determinations belonging to accomplished *ideal objects* (for instance, archaic magical-religious ideologies) that they "derive" from and that they are "dependent on"[44]. More, one could advance the hypothesis and the necessity for the existence of certain fictional determinations that *the rules* acquire according to the narrative nature of the document that they configure. In this respect, the historical-religious analysis based on cognitive invariants should take into account the way texts are structured narratively, as well as the process of fictionalisation. *The cognitive rules* cannot be de-contextualised and studied apart from the nature of the document, as if they were semiotic *universalia*. For they are discernible within the human experience that, in its turn, is transmitted only when it is structured narratively. Therefore – the necessity of a fictional and narrative conditioning of the cognitive invariants. Any comparative approach must consider

[39] Culianu 1994: 40.

[40] Culianu 1994: 41.

[41] cf. the traditions as "diachronic intertextuality" in Caprettini 1992: 22–23.

[42] Culianu 1994: 43.

[43] See the definitions proposed by H.R. Patapievici: non-arbitrary "*atomar* ontological propositions", "justified through the constitution of the epistemic/transcendental subject"; "the simplest predicates that can be stated about the existence" (Patapievici 1995: 363–364).

[44] Culianu 1994: 41–42.

the nature of the text to be compared (the degree of fictionalisation determines distinct cognitive features), its particular narrative and fictional determinations.

In this respect, we think that a reunion between Culianu's cognitive model and the fictional one proposed by Toma Pavel could support the attemt to redefine fictionalisation from an extended perspective. To this purpose, we think of a possible parallel between *the ideal objects*[45] and *the fictional objects*[46]. The sets of *cognitive rules* generate – through successive binary choices (inside an alternative formulated through a set of rules) – the particular cultural objects that, in their turn, can be integrated among the ideal systemic objects they belong to (by virtue of the set of rules and of the generating mechanism). The generating system functions until all the initial possibilities of combination and re-ordination of the sequences implied in the process are exhausted. *The ideal objects* are precisely the fractalic results (producing solutions *ad infinitum*, according to the generating rules) of such "multiple choice processes"/"computational processes", where *the mind games* interfere with other games (*power games*), in accordance with the conditions specific to human nature. Although their existence only has a logical and systemic dimension, they generate, through simultaneous interactions, the reality itself; history is precisely the line beyond which the ideal objects interact together, and it could be defined as "a morphodynamic integration of the ideal objects". The final conclusion of the "radical monist" model created by Culianu consists of defining the entire human existence as *a mind game* "with sure rules of functioning, but with unpredictable results"[47].

The fictional objects, as they are conceived by Toma Pavel, following the *meinongian objects*[48] (reserved when it comes to accepting the non-regional ontological differences), without having the holistic character of *the ideal objects*, is characterised by the same mental nature (they are "objects of thought") and are defined as "simple correspondences of the sets of predicates/predicative notions. Parsons' amendment to Meinong's theory – the distinction between the *nuclear predicates* and the *extra-nuclear* ones in order to define the *fictional objects*[49], had opened the way to an ontology of the fictional entities, by postulating their double insertion, inside fiction (due to nuclear properties) and "outside the real world" (due to non-nuclear properties). Pavel takes the reasoning further, advancing an integrationist theory of fiction that would conceive the fictional beings distinctly, with their individualising properties and principles: "The medieval notion of degree

[45] Culianu 1998: 22, 28, 38, 43, 47.

[46] Pavel 1992: 45–50, 225–243.

[47] Patapievici 1995: 373–376.

[48] "Given the fact that any real object consists of a list of properties, the definiton of the objects can be extended, asserting that each list of properties has a corresponding object that is either existent, or not" (Pavel 1992: 45); cf. Meinong 1904.

[49] "In Parsons' theory, the fictional objects possess all the nuclear properties that we naively attribute, but they enjoy these properties only inside the novel or the text they belong to, since the membership quality of a text is an extra-nuclear property" (Pavel 1992: 46); see Parsons 1980.

of the being, once eliminated from the cosmology, could be used inside internal ontological models that describe mythical and religious thinking and, generally, symbolic activities. In meinongian systems, *any kind of object is equally endowed with being/essence, although not necessarily with existence*. A subtle distinction made by Meinong and used by Parsons suggests that for some of the extra-nuclear predicatives there are other "attenuated" predicatives, too, that correspond to them: the extra-nuclear predicative "exists" shall have an attenuated nuclear version – "is existent/is existing"; therefore, the mountain of gold is existent, but does not exist. Only the real objects possess both the complete properties, and those attenuated – those of existing and being existent"[50].

Toma Pavel's assertion thus opens the way to a comprehensive theory of the extra-mundane beings/entities, that would comprise both the mathematical entities, the spiritual emanations of the gnostic systems (cf. Culianu) and the fictional characters. Concerning the problem of fictionalisation, one could analyse, similarly, the process through which mythical beings from *memorate* I, for instance[51] and the fictional beings from *memorate* IV[52] appear as mutual transformations of the same mythical-fictional generating system, surprised in distinct stages of aggregation. The mythical-fictional characters and the corresponding worlds have a double nature, and their ontological condition is one of an *interval* type (*mundus imaginalis* in Henri Corbin's terminology), manifesting themselves through a variety of mythical-fictional degrees polarised between the experience of the immediate real and the mental experience of the ultra-mundane worlds. Both the epistemological models examined above postulate the plurality of the worlds: the *pluri-dimensionality*, making possible the conception of *the ideal objects* and the multitude of the fictional worlds[53], with the relevant themes: the limits and the dimension of the fictional worlds, the difference and the distance between the empiric reality and the fictional one, the models for the fictional expansion, the competition between the neighbouring worlds etc.[54] The economy and the objectives of the present study do not allow for a detailed approach of these problems.

Further, we shall explicitate **Scheme II**, from the standpoint of the theories mentioned above. We are interested, first of all, in the issue of the fictional frontiers, its peratological status, between the sacred and "representational", "vague and multiple" limits[55] of myth and reality. Compared to the initial scheme, the issue of referentiality did not suffer radical changes, and *memorate* I goes on representing the "degree zero" of fictional aggregation. Like any scheme, it has,

[50] Pavel 1992: 49.
[51] *Fata pădurii* [Daughter of the Forest] and *Frumoasele* [The Beautiful Ones].
[52] *Mama pădurii* [Mother of the Forest] and *Zânele* [Fairies].
[53] Culianu 1998: 20–22 and 1994: 44–62.
[54] Pavel 1992: 118–187, 228–230.
[55] Pavel 1992: 131–132.

above all, the shortcoming of not having been able to cover all the issues at stake here and, first of all, the double status that any mythical-fictional objects had, in different degrees – that of object of experience and that of mental object at the same time: *memorate* I is, to a larger extent, an object of the experience rather that *memorate* IV, for instance, and, on the other hand, one cannot avoid the question of the ambivalent relationship between tale and daily reality, between the fantastic tale's narrative "purism" and the fictional porosity towards the ethnographical reality (the phenomenon of novelising the tale by introducing daily life details)[56].

Secondly, the issue of the mythical-fictional nature of the characters, specific to each narrative stage, remains. Concerning this, we should distinguish *the non-human characters* (the forest/water/air demons, *zâne* [the fairies] and *zmei* etc.), that are identical systemically, having a common cognitive base, inter-connected through mutual transformations and through computational processes, and *the human characters*, in whose case we applied Aristotle's criterion concerning the degree of elevation of the heroes when compared to the receiver, in the variant suggested by Northrop Frye[57]. We are interested here the process of de-familiarising the average individual (the hero of the *memorate*/the *inferior mimetic mode*) who, undergoing the fictionalising mechanism, escapes the dominion of human legitimacy and enters a larger and intensely typical human condition; following this process, the hero in the *memorate* gradually transforms, according to the cultural episteme where the mythification/fictionalisation of the tale's hero (the romance/novel's hero) takes place, turning into someone superior due to "the measure of his capacity" or into a mythical hero, superior "through his very nature".

The new element that we have tried to introduce in the scheme is the myth, and we have considered it in relation to both what could represent a possible "originary"[58] narrative phenomenon, and to the experience of the real (as an experience of the sacred in the case of the mythical-magical *memorate*). Thirdly, we have marked the degrees of veridicality attributed to each narrative step, taken separately. Other determinations, that would have certainly proved useful, could not be included in the scheme because of some reasons concerning the available space. The fictional degrees noted down conventionally with numbers and the two variants of myth presented in the scheme can only be stated theoretically: in narrative practice, they surpass the propedeutical limits we have fixed and they present forms that are more or less hybrid. Correspondingly, if we approached the fictional modes scheme proposed by Northrop Frye and applied it to the oral narrative genres[59],

[56] Propp 1983: 668–683.

[57] Frye 1972: 38–40.

[58] The convergence between Goethe and Propp's morphologies and Culianu's morphodynamics is explicit.

[59] The myth, the romance/novel(covering the fantastic tale and, to a certain extent, the legend), the superior mimetic mode (with its typical tales: AT 850–899, 930–949), the inferior mimetic code (animal tale, mythical *memorate*) and the ironic mode (*snoava*, *i.e.* the anecdote) (Frye 1972: 38–41).

ambiguous situations would come up: they cover most of the narrative reality but, *in concretu*, the fictional limits transgress the type-categories, manifesting themselves as an underground water. The narrative genres constitute an extremely dynamic reality, one of the reasons for the tempting organicist approach[60].

From this perspective, we find the fictional *situs* of the *memorate* to be symptomatic, appearing as a liminal/interference genre, difficult to fix into a distinct narrative category. Compared to the scheme of fictional modes, the memorate could apparently be included in the *inferior mimetic*, although its mythical-magical character pushes it towards the *romance/novel* and *mythical mode*, and certain characteristic towards the *ironic* (see the *memorate* about the magical stealing of the milk that are classified by the narrators as "old women stories", and then deconstructed with humour). Propp himself considered the mythical *memorate* (*Mytische Sagen*, *bylička*[61] and *byl*'[62]) to be an intermediary genre, placed between legend (but distinct from it due to its fideistic pre-Christian content), saga (a narrative with a historical character), *skazi* (lifestories, autobiographies or biographies, of a realist type)[63], and tales (morphological differences, *distinct historical origin* and diverse methodologies). As criteria for the distinction between *memorate* ("true story") and the fantastic tale, he proposes the belonging of the memorate's imagery to the pre-Christian religion ("still burning when the story was narrated") and the credibility criterion ("the belief in the veridicality of the narrated events")[64]: "The belief in the spirits represented in these stories may stop, but the story remains, from now on, as a pure invention. It is true that these are rare cases, given the fact that usually, if the belief vanishes, the story goes away, too. Nevertheless, these are possible cases; then we shall deal with intermediary formations and, from time to time, the question of belonging to a genre will be solved. Through its social function, *Bylička* is a story with a religious content and, thus, religiosity is still alive, active and pagan inside it. The tale is a purely artistic story that today has no religious function"[65]. In other words, once the archaic religious layer is hidden through multiple acculturations, the mythical memorate passes from the state of object of the religious experience to that of object of the fictional experience. This thesis sends us to the assertions concerning

[60] Concerning the features of Propp's morphology (organicism, generative and transformative character) see Steiner 1991: 83–113.

[61] "Stories whose characters are the spirits of the forest, waters, fields, houses, *rusalki*, spirits of the mine and so on; in other words, daemonic entities that influence humans due to their supernatural powers, for better or for worse" (Propp 1990: 29).

[62] "Stories narrating the encounter with these spirits" (Propp 1990: 29).

[63] Propp does not make a distinction between *bylička* and *skazi* in the case of miners' stories about meeting the spirits of the mountains, "whose veridicality was once believed in" (Propp 1990: 37–39). Or, although he does not mention it explicitly, *bylička* turns into *skazi* after the extinction of the religious forms that fed the experiences narrated in the memorate.

[64] Propp 1990: 30–31.

[65] Propp 1990: 31.

the relationship between tale and religion, "dead" or "alive", and the distinction operated between the direct line of descent (the tale and a ritual material) and the parallel filiation (the tale and an epic-religious material)[66].

Reformulating the problem of the fictional/mythical veridicality and credibility, from the perspective of the speech act theory, we ask ourselves if, in real situations, the *bylički* storyteller/narrator, when asserting mythical-magical narratives, imagines and believes them or adheres to them from totally different reasons, to what extent he/she deeply or superficially believes in the truth of his/her stories and for how long, only "during the statement believed to be true" or for a longer period afterwards; "must the belief be simultaneous with the enunciation or could it precede or follow the pronunciation of the phrase in question?"[67] Faced with the *assertion rules*[68], whose initial purpose was precisely establishing the clear lines between the non-fictional and the fictional discourse (the one that does not respect these rules at all), the adherence of the mythical *memorate*'s narrator/teller changes from one fictional stage to another: the narrator of *memorate* I is ready to defend the truth of his enunciations using as argument his own experience (formulas such as "this happened like this, I saw it/I lived it"), while in the case of *memorate* II and III the assertive rules 1 and 4 fall on a second level, the moral and the logical responsibility for the things told is projected upon the community and the local cultural tradition ("I heard it like this, but I didn't see it. Why would I lie?"/"I heard it from people. This is how it is told"). In this case, the fictional credibility is rather collective than individual, and the community is the one ruling collectively over language and its relation to reality[69].

The veridicality and the credibility of the mythical-magical *memorate* has to do with both their experiential fundament, and the communitarian viability of the archaic mental structures (especially religion). Of course, following their dissipation into *ideal objects*, too, the cognitive rules that had aggregated them at a certain point remain and they continue germinating new ideal objects and new narrative structures, by virtue of the dialectics between the sacred and the profane, even when the initial religious background would have ceased being credible.

The nodal points in this process of disintegration of the concrete reality, and of mythical-fictional aggregation are *memorate* I (*homodiegetic*) and III (*heterodiegetic*). At the level of the *memorate* III, both the "ironic" *snoavă* and

[66] Propp 1983: 666–668.

[67] Pavel 1992: 33.

[68] (1) *The essential rule* (the speaker assumes the logical responsibility for the truth of his assertions and accepts the consequences of his statement); (2) *the preliminary rule/the argumentation rule* (the speaker has to be capable of defending the truth of the assertion); (3) the preposition expressed through the assertion does not have to be obvisouly true for the participants in the communicating situation; (4) *the sincerity rule* (the speaker has to trust the truth of the sentence expressed, that is to say the content of an assertion and to assume moral responsibility) (Searle 1975: 319–332; Gabriel 1979: 245–255; Pavel 1992: 30).

[69] See Putnam 1965 and 1973 (ap. Pavel 1992: 35–36).

anecdote-like narrative, and the mythical-magical story are situated, and the latter can be converted into a fictional story or a mythical one. This entire process takes place in the context of the narrative communication ("the storytelling"), manifesting itself both in the text producing act (through mythical and fictional simulation), and in the reception one (through the disguise technique). Regarded from an integrationist perspective, *the simulation* stops being considered a marginal practice lacking seriousness (as Searle considered it), for, in the context of fiction, "the difference between the simulated acts and the real ones grows dimmer", and the marginal referential practices (myth and fiction) are creative expressions of the referential processes[70]. The difference comes along only between myth and fiction, because, being a "simulation game", it is permanently open to reconstruction (following, of course, the narrative rules) and presupposes a free adherence, whereas the myth has a rather fix character, having been created in *illo tempore* and benefitting, therefore, from veridicality, and demanding a religious confidence[71]. The other procedure, *the disguise*, is essential in the context of the passage from real to fictional, as it "changes the ontological frame so that sometimes, the same text can be interpreted as being fictional or not, depending on the presence or absence of the disguise act – either that of the author or that of the reader"[72]. The steps of the mythical-fictional simulation have a correspondent in the "steps of disguise", measuring precisely the qualitative distance between the fictional worlds and the real world (where the receiver is to be found). In fictional communication, *the real ego* of the receiver is let aside and it starts a quasi-shamanic journey in the shape of *fictional ego*, reducing the perception of the fiction's limits, without banishing them (as it happens in the shamanic-like journey). "The principle of minimal distancing" makes this journey possible, hiding the consequences of transgressing the fictional. The disguise functions in order to offer an ontological consistency to fiction by taking it seriously, due to the "fictional pact", deluding all the real members of the imaginary society into believing that "the displacement towards the fictional realm din not even take place and that their fictional egos where somehow always there, since, phenomenologically, they started to exist along with the imaginary realm. (...) The fictional distance is therefore reduced to difference and, in order to be manageable, the difference must be kept at a minimum"[73]. On the other hand, one must mention the fact that "the fictional distance" between the different types of *memorate* varies from case to case.

One last issue dealt with in the scheme is the functioning mode of the fictionalising mechanisms, when related to the immediate reality, through a concrete experience that is narratively expressed also in relation with the myth, through a hermeneutic/cognitive de-mythifying and fictionalising experience of it.

[70] Pavel 1992: 37, 44.
[71] Pavel 1992: 99.
[72] Pavel 1992: 146.
[73] Pavel 1992: 145.

For the first situation, we debate a folkloric phenomenon we observed during our field researches from July and November 1998, in a number of villages in northern Zarand (Gurahonț region), towards southern parts of the Western Mountains. In those researches we tried to circumscribe the regional ethno-anthropological coordinates of lykanthropy, based on a case study, by us monitorized (including direct filmings and failed interview attempts, with the main character involved)[74]: a man living in isolation, in a forest at the boundary of three villages, where he had built himself a hut, precisely in the way of the wolf packs. Deviant psychically, marginal socially, he lived out of broom making; nobody would know a thing of his biography, and he was considered by the inhabitants of all three bordering villages, and all neighbouring area, to be *Vâlva lupilor* [The Shepherd of Wolves]. His everyday life was read and interpreted by the nearby rural communities from the point of view of the region's respective oral mythical-fictional traditions, the whole set of cognitive and hermeneutic rules, constitutive for the narrative folkloric complex of *lykanthropy,* being focused onto him. In this sense, his everyday deeds and his parsimonious words, were all subjected to a mythical-fictional semiosis, converting his life in a fully-fledged story. On the other hand, narratives of him were coming from diverse social-cultural and confessional milieus, both peasant and rurally intellectual, Orthodox and Neo-Protestant (Baptist), conferring upon them sufficiently strong fictional verosimility, throughout the whole region. In 2000, when I was away in Italy with a study fellowship, this *Shepherd of Wolves* died, there in the hospital of Gurahonț where he had been admitted. Even into his death, he went clad in a thick fabric of contradictory narratives.

In our field research, we focused on the mythical-magical *memorate* projected by the villagers around settlement of *Vâlva lupilor.* We have noticed the more fictionally intense character of the *memorate* told by people who had no direct contact with the demonised character (for instance, the story told by a sharp old man from Crocna about *Vâlva* from Gurahonț whom he claims to have seen rotating three times in the distance and turning into a wolf), and the reduced fictionality of the *memorate* of degree I (for instance, the interview with a countryman from Honțișor or the stories of a Baptist family from Crocna about their conflict with *Vâlva*)[75]. Extending the research towards other villages in the region (Zimbru), we have recorded stories about another *vâlvă a lupilor*, centred on another non-social character, one that had lived in isolation[76]. Still, the conclusion

[74] Field Research, AFAR: Gurahonț, Honțișor, Brazi, Crocna, Zimbru (Arad county), July and Nov., 1998. Researchers: B. Neagota, I. Benga. The filmings were made by Cosmin Pavel and Levente Arany.

[75] For a detailed analyse of this case see Neagota 2013; cf. Hedeşan 2000: 135–177.

[76] Both cases of *Vâlva lupilor*, from Gurahonț and Zimbru, await to be considered in a larger macro-regional context, by means of appeal to similar cases, from nearer villages, or from more remote ones (Cărpeniș, Roșia Montană, Brad). The last *Shepherd of Wolves* from the south of the Western Mountains, brought to the larger public knowledge by means of written press as well, died in March 2010, in a village near the little mountain town of Brad, http://www.formula-as.ro/2010/928/societate–37/valva-lupilor–12695 / http://www.replicahd.ro/replica_db/index.php?pagerun=2&p=3646&more=1&c=1&tb=1&pb=1.

concerning this category of individuals prone to demonisation cannot be extrapolated, since there are also stories about socialised *Vâlve,* perfectly integrated inside the rural community. Of course, one could claim the existence of a "shamanisable" human category, presenting morphological features that are common to both *Vâlva lupilor* and the *şolomonar* (a meteorological magical technician). But any macro-theory might run the risk of turning into an epistemologic trap. Fictionalisation proves to be, once again, a *mind game*, unfolding according to precise rules, but leading to unpredictable results.

The second case is recorded by Constantin Brăiloiu and deals with the fictional conversion of a simple accident suffered by a young man from a village in Maramureş (it is his fiancée's version of the situation, 40 year later) in a ballad-like scenario with *zâne* [fairies], centred on the mythical motif of the premarital relation with a supernatural being, *zâna* [fairy], and the punishment she applies to her unfaithful human fiancé (the ballad version, recounted by the villagers, with an action placed *in illo tempore*). The example is commented both by Eliade and by T. Pavel[77]. We shall not re-introduce here the well-known explanations: the mythical-narrative over-compensation, ontologically relevant, of the "terror" felt by the archaic man facing his own biography lacking a meaning/direction (Eliade), the mythifying tendency of the "man from the traditional societies"[78] or the mythification as the projection of an event in a fictional dimension, for obtaining the necessary perspective and distancing for the appropriate understanding (Pavel). The classic mechanisms observed in such situations, such as *de-familiarisation* or formalisation and the schematism of the formulae (as *oral techniques for distancing*) all look for the same thing: deconstructing daily reality, *de-automatising* it in view of turning it exemplary through mythification, in other words – its qualitative transmutation from immediate reality into mythical reality, situated at a certain distance, but therefore more poignant.

In the context of traditional societies, the fundamental distinction is that between the sacred ("memorable") and the profane ("insignificant"). The dialectics between the sacred and the profane follows, within such epistemes, precisely the mythical and soteriological conversion of human existence, the transfiguration of any historical biography into an exemplary, mythical and ontologically significant history. And the ritual repeatability of the myth expresses another feeling of novelty and authenticity than the one pertaining to modernity. *Mutatis mutandis*, the conventionalism of the narrative formulae and the morphological schematism are the expression of a related attitude, but they are manifesting in an episteme distinct from the archaic one – inside folkloric cultures. In the case of the European space, the occultation of the ancient mythical-religious system into a marginal space co-existed with the dominant Christian ideology, without ever vanishing completely. Thus, the world images of the peasant communities perpetuated a plurality of competing "ontological landscapes", that stimulated the process of

[77] Eliade 1955: 19–20, Pavel 1992: 125–126.
[78] Eliade 1992 [1943]: 68.

focalising, sorting and ordering systems of ideas, forcing them to convergence, at least concerning their points of "ontological fusion"[79]. The decrease of the adherence to the veridicality of the myth lead to the fictionalisation of the mythical-narrative worlds and stimulated the search for new techniques meant to make tangible the spaces emerging in this process. Thus, the archaic technologies for travelling to other realms (ecstasy, initiation, etc.) were replaced by new forms of evasion, of a fictional nature. The new worlds grew on the ruins of the ancient mythical objects, after having modified them according to the current set of rules. The fictionalisation of the myths is a complex process, with a rich morphology: the weakening and the loss of faith in the old mythical systems, the loss of the referential connection between the characters and the events of a myth and their real correspondents, and the transformation of these texts into non-referential narratives of an epic medieval type[80], the de-ritualisation and the loss of sacred referentiality (a process that is typical for the Classical Antiquity).

Once the myths are fictionalised, the fictional cycle closes, returning towards its initial point. A new experience of a break of level, intertextually restructured and explicitated in the light of a cognitive tradition shall re-open the entire process. This way, fictionalisation becomes the way the real – endured in its senseless nudity – is appropriated, humanised and converted into an anthropic cosmos. The human experience of the real cannot be lived in nature's parametres, but only in those of culture. One cannot support the idea of the existence of a degree zero of fictionalisation, of the possiblity of a non-fictional experience of the real, but only that of a fictional minimum. This is due to the fact that the individual is a fictionalising being, transforming the real according to his own anthropologic coordinates.

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[79] Pavel 1992: 226–230.

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TALES WE TELL ARE TALES WE DWELL: THE TALE BETWEEN BELIEF-TALE AND FAIRYTALE

ILEANA BENGA

ABSTRACT

This study represents the promised 'half' of elaboration over the *fictionalization square*, a common ground achievement, as early as the year 2000, stemmed from the common work, archival, theoretical and in the field, with Bogdan Neagota, whose own 'half' mirrors mine in the pages of this volume. I have developed it into the triangle of the narrative continuum of the tale of oral tradition, aligning what I had identified as the four degrees of *memorata*, and directing their extremes, *i.e.* the belief-tale in the first person and the description, into the fairytale, as the most complex narrative genre to be found within folkloric cultures like the Romanian one. The criterion I used is the temporal development of the narrated plot: the tense of the tale is elucidating, for all the folding and unfolding processes of the narrative nucleus during transmission. Traditional transmission of cultural facts is narrative as well as syntactic, so that the tales being told as folk-lore are, for their storytellers, vehicles *and* modes of enactment of communication requirements, both of their groups and of their own.

Keywords: Story, tale, fairytale, fictionalization, memorata, narratives.

The relationship between the narrative of oral tradition to fiction or, more appropriately, to the *fictionalization*, under all its analyzable aspects, seems to be of interest for the ethnographer to a larger extent and in a more natural way that in previous research years, given the fact that the narrative manner of gathering information from the folkloric field becomes more and more exclusive. Even to a brief and selective archive experience – such as mine going through all the answers given to Ion Muşlea's questionnaires no. I and II, found in the archive deposit of the "Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy" Institute of Cluj-Napoca – it appears obvious that the great majority of the ceremonial elements, to give only a spectacular longevous example, are researchable today only in a narratively mediated formula. And this happens only in relation to documents less than 100 year-old which, for us, are narratives themselves. Except that, through a kind of convention often silenced, we consider the authors of those field notes to be our colleagues, collector-researcher of today, and their data – a gold mine. Always narratives are the peasants' memories about the rhythms of the life they once lived,

always – and this has been central focus in our research so far – the mythical-magical *memorata* type narratives.

Especially since the liveliest element and the most active ferment responsible for the (re)production of these narratives is traceable in the peasants' minds, and haunts the structures of their memory, following the "rules of the house", it becomes strongly necessary to re-evaluate and elaborate a new and elastic methodology for approaching the narratives of oral tradition. Everything is narrative; if it is not, it will soon be – the pessimist version; the other variant: everything or almost everything is transmitted/communicated in a narrative manner. This "almost everything" brings into debate a problem that is inherent to any step into the traditional narrative being *self-perpetuated* in its native communities – the transmission of *tradition*. Impalpable as a functioning principle of the folkloric reality, viscous when it comes to the explanatory elasticity over phenomena emerged inside this reality; inconsistent as operational[1] concept, tradition remains the knot where any thought (however briefly diachronical) on the uncovering of a rite/custom/ceremonial/tale etc. in a certain community, at a given moment, is being articulated.

This is so because it seems impossible and undesirable not to draw connections between repeated occurrences of a same pattern, along a certain time span, given or induced by the researchers. The will to trace limits, while, simultaneously, rendering them permeable, created, in the field of ethnology, but not solely, an entire literature concerning the singularity of the folkloric act at the edge of its emergence; in other words, there exists only the *variant*[2], not the "prototype", whatever the ways one would use to circumscribe it. But the variant emerges, with all its fortuitous and less fortuitous features, due to the existence and the functioning of a *tradition*, a reason that makes the above-mentioned limits difficult to ignore. The balance could continue with multiple nuances, but I believe

[1] This aspect is extensively debated by Pascal Boyer (Boyer 1990). His critique tackles, first of all, the lack of preoccupation of the specialised literature for moving from the self-sufficient and immaterial evidence that the concept of tradition is surrounded by, and uses, especially within the anthropological theories, an evidence that can go as far as excluding the possibility of a scientific theory of tradition. The theories he presents in the book do not cancel the problematic situation of the treatment of tradition; instead, they impose the fact that the repetition/reiteration of tradition implies complex acquisition, memorisation and social interaction processes that need to be described and explained.

[2] We talked about the variant in traditional storytelling as a *narrative-at-a-certain-point/narrative-at-a-given-moment* in a previous study (Benga 2000), taking into account theories belonging to Constantin Brăiloiu, Max Lüthi, Carl von Sydow, Aurora Milillo, Sebastiono Lo Nigro, Stith Thompson, Adrian Fochi, Nicolae Roşianu and Cornelia Călin-Bodea. We were saying back then that the documents containing *ethnological facts at-a-certain-point/at-a-given-moment* enjoy a credibility privilege from us, given the fact that we accept their quality of being *suspended/suspensions in time* (like the oil drop in the water).

that it is precisely those nuances that deserve credit, offering the possibility for certain statements, too, not only for doubts[3].

Therefore, we persist in the relatively vaguely circumscribed field of tradition, regarding it here as a pregnant concept in contemporary Romanian language, a concept capable of operability. The transmission of tradition – or the traditional transmission – is the name given to those processes that make it possible to analyze the stories as marks of the fictionalization taking place, in fact, *between* the variants. This great amount unknown, impalpable in itself, but salient through its results, found *between* the variants-at-a-certain-point, dictates the emergence of the next/following folkloric life form, in the marvelous and always surprising manner in which the genetic code of any live creature coordinates both its existence and its reproduction. Whether or not we shall ever discover it, such as it had been understood for (the other) life, constitutes a question that, as in the other case, will follow a path – hopefully, just as glorious – but will remain something permanent, as question.

From this perspective, then, that of the interface between these variants, we approach the relationship between the oral narrative forms, and the mechanism, supposed to consist of a series of stages, of fictionalization. Previously, we have elaborated, together with Bogdan Neagota, the primary scheme of the fictionalization stages[4], a common denominator for the ethnographer and the historian of religions. The encoding phenomena between the four narrative units theorized are defined conceptually and, in a somewhat abstract way, functionally: de-realization, fictionalization, archaetypologization, de-fictionalization. They represent some *in-between-variants,* described for narratives that *coexist,* in both simultaneity and diachronicity; or at least, this is what we are able to understand from the sources we discover them in (old notebooks, old books, edited published material, contemporary field research etc.). The fairytale and the *memorata* are thus connected morphologically – our scheme binds them syntactically, too, through the syntax of folkloric tradition. Both types of relationships are important for us, as both of them are "genetically" encoded, proving the interaction with the contextual environment. This is how the former scheme was created, the one whose re-elaboration we are attempting at, here and now.

The field experience I have personally dealt with so far met, among the narratives with a mythical-magical origin, only *memorata*, in a denominating system that frees the fairytale from the terminological incidence of this given

[3] Related to the extended possibilities of approaching the variant, David Rubin states that the difference between the transmission of a theme/image/poetical structure has methodological implications for the way memory is being studied, so that both in psychological and in the oral tradition literature, the influences on the structure of a piece are made through the *comparison of variants* (Rubin 1995: 13, note 2). Except that, in psychological studies, the first variant is considered to be correct, unlike in the field of ethnology. This constitutes the essential difference between the approaches mentioned.

[4] Neagota–Benga 2000: 9.

narrative unit. And the initial interrogation on the differences called above *in-between-variants*, emerged at the same time with the personal "founding" experience, during some of the first field outings, in Ţara Oaşului and Ţara Zarandului. Back then, I was noticing that the people of Bixad regularly used the formula[5] *~strâjile-s nişte lumini care joacă noaptea... Zice că să le zici sporească-vă jocul!...* [*strâjile* are some lights that dance during night-time... They say you should tell them to dance even stronger]; those of Zarand regularly used accounts such as: *~cică cutare din sat să făcea vâlvă...* [they say that somebody from the village turned into a *vâlvă*... (a genie-like spirit)]. Of course, the two narrative forms do not speak about the same mythological *entity*; yet, when repeatedly, the same type of *descriptive* formulation is being uttered, in the former case, during the memorata-type of exposition, and a same type of *narrative* epic formulation is being uttered, in the latter case, facts seem saliently constant.

We certainly do not put forward any form of exclusivity, in the manner of the narrative formulation, broadly understood. The same community makes various types of narratives circulate, narratives we regarded, during field work, as belonging to the generous area of the *memorata*. After having gathered, later on, a certain experience about working with archives, completing it with information drawn on field experience, I came to generate a scheme of the *memorata* (implying, though, a certain conceptual imprecision, by that time); although never acknowledged, yet, within the local academia, to me this scheme continues to represent an honest formulation of the problem, still functioning in approximating the data offered by the field research. Measuring the storyteller's implication in his own story, I called *memorată* a happening told by the narrator as if he had lived it, acting as main or secondary character; *povestire* [story] – a deed whose protagonists recounted directly the event to our subject; *întâmplare* [happening] – a story that had already been told at least times twice, before reaching the collector of the field material; and *description* – an account speaking about mythological beings, acts of magic with a pre-existent pattern, or detached, impersonal mythical physiognomies[6].

The moment I have elaborated, together with Bogdan Neagota, the scheme for the fictionalisation square, was when the theoretical study brought along the need to enlarge the frame for approaching the *memorata*; only by enclosing the extreme forms, too, the representative value of a model can be tested. On the other hand, the extreme forms are – in the new nomenclature, on various degrees of *memorata* – the fascinating and permanently problematic account in the 1st person singular, the *1st degree memorata* (the 0 degree experience of *beyond...*) and the fairytale, the *4th degree memorata*: the only large and complex narrative unit

[5] I quote from memory and I do this in order to speak about the impact suffered during this first conscious contact with the *memorata*.

[6] The scheme was part of my MA dissertation (Benga 1998: 36). For the ulterior fate of these findings and insights, see Benga 2005: 77–87.

traceable inside folkloric cultures[7].

The reason why myth is not present within folkloric cultures or, to be more precise, is not present as an active, live, generative narrative structure, can be looked for by the level of the oral folkloric transmission of the narrative information preserved by tradition. According to the demonstration on which we fundament the scheme of the narrative *continuum* throughout the oral tradition tales, each narrative nucleus encapsulates inside itself a temporally delineated and profoundly controllable segment: throughout its maximal duration, it barely covers a few generations. Even the fairytale's temporal loops represent accidents of the same short temporality. Whereas, in the case of myths, the time unit covered is much larger: even in the Romanian myth concerning the world's creation by God and the hedgehog's wisdom, to give but an example, time seems to be concise, but it actually is huge and limited only at the extremity we find ourselves in, towards the history's edge. Still, a story/narrative, telling in words such boundless, hard to visualize, infinity, is undoubtedly transmitted on a different path, as compared to the one where the time-unit, that is, the segment on the time-axis, and the action it develops, while expressing the segment, represent the main purpose having generated the narrative.

It is certain that there exists a *continuum* circulating between the narrative materials which we document within the folkloric reality. This is proven, inductively, by the operating principles and the moulds of the stories at stake, easy to spot, in quite similar shapes, on every stage and level around the narrative "nucleus"; and deductively, by the fact that the repeated occurrence of these patterns is connected to that *something*, both law and matter, *in-between-the-variants*.

As a result, if the ethnographer feels the need to return to that scheme of the fictionalization square, it so happens because he concretely needs an elastic model on the behaviour of the traditional narratives, capable of counting not only for the configuration of the narrative nucleus inside the story, not only for the conformation of the *memorata* when related to the other *memorata* of the same folkloric universe, but also for the factor tradition-meaning-transmission that controls (however succinctly) the diachronic occurrence of the narrative motifs.

Using this perspective – the one privileging the spaces between the various types of memorata – we reach our own variant of the fictionalisation scheme, as a process that is not a-fabulatory, but as one reproducing (in the biological sense) the mythical narrative nuclei (see the scheme of *the narrative continuum of the tale of oral tradition*).

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[7] For *the distinction between myth and fairytale*, distinct fictional genres that develop in different socio-cultural contexts (the ethnographic cultures of the so-called primitive cultures and the folkloric cultures inside the complex European cultures), see the *scheme of the stages of narrativity* proposed by Bogdan Neagota (Neagota 2005: 111). From the bibliography on the relationship between myth and fairytale we quote: Bascom 1984: 5–29; Belmont 1991: 165–190; Greimas 1980 [1969]: 49–95; Jesi 1980: 43–52; Meletinski 1998: 152–158 and 1991: 43–55; Pottier 1994: 81–128.

The first observation is that the concept of *memorata* – a thing "facilitated" by the actual field situation, nowadays impoverished – will stay where it is, where fairytale can only reach fragmented by oblivion and/or by circulation. Therefore, we shall have the four degrees of *memorata*, corresponding to the four types of narrative situations traceable, in the field, on this discursive dimension, and that are theorized above; except that, instead of *memorata, story, happening* and *description*, we shall have *memorata I, II, III* and *IV*. The *fairytale* is situated only at the other extremity, with its specific central narrative nucleus: a well-coagulated story.

The second observation is that – like all the other researchers into the oral narrative phenomena – we cannot speak about the narratives only as well-defined, pure formal entities; but must proceed to analyze their content, so as to prove them valid both inside the scheme proposed, with its intrinsic principles, and outside it. So, what do narratives contain, what do they recount? With respect to oral tradition narratives, I believe – following an idea advanced by the American poetics dealing with the study of the oral narratives of the personal experience – that the temporal, chronological succession of the events is a defining element[8]. If one takes, from the forms of the traditional popular narrative, *memorata* I: *~mie mi s-a întâmplat cutare lucru* [this thing has happened to me], the chronological temporal sequence is traceable; if one takes *memorata* II: *~i s-a întâmplat bunicii mele...* [it happened to my grandma...], the idea of a temporal sequence is sustained, once again; if one deals with *memorata* III: *~i s-a întâmplat unuia din sat...* [it happened to someone in the village...], the temporality of the fact recounted is still there. But if one discussed *memorata* IV: *~cutare ființă mitologică se comportă așa* [that particular mythological being behaves like that], the temporal sequence is sustained only to the extent that we trust some facts, often from *beyond*, as having a chronological succession of events, in the absence of a (human) witness capable of confessing about those facts (as do the actors of *memorata* I, II and III confess). We can confer a linear, horizontal temporality to the *memorata* IV: in fact, for people, the facts narrated, whose actors are not human, are situated at a same distance, from both the destined receivers of the story and the narrator. Why is the chronological sequence important? Because for instance in the case of the *memorata* IV, the chronologic sequence is to be found "modified" within the document (field or archive), and this fact cannot be severed from a certain distant status of this narrative genre, distant from the reproductive principles of the narrative nuclei that *transmit* themselves

[8] The idea appears to be excellently demonstrated in Labov and Waletzky 1981: 261–303. Defining the narrative generally as a method of recapitulating the past experience through the adjustment of the verbal succession of propositions to the succession of events that had actually taken place, the authors state that not just any recapitulation of the experience represents a narrative. The manner of presenting the events depends then on the "syntactic «folding»" of the story, but not all the alternatives of the narrative require such a subordination. The basic narrative units, those that we need to isolate, are defined by the fact that *they recapitulate the experience following the same order as the originary events*. At a syntactic level, the elements defining the narrative propositions shall be characterized by the temporal order between these propositions; their order cannot be modified without modifying the order suggested by the events in the original interpretation (Ibid.: 272–274).

and are being generated continuously in the folkloric field; this core status of the *memorata IV* allows predictions around the survival or the extinction of the narrative motif in question, in a relatively short time interval after finding it in the field under that particular form. This would only be one supposition, whereas the other, opposite one, affirmed that the stage of *memorata* IV is the (derived from it, or prior?) reflected fairytale-like narrative structure. In other words, to use the terms of fictionalization, *memorata* IV is either the final stage of narrative existence, followed by its dissolving into the abyss (once the death of its last carriers happens etc...), or the stage of maximal essentialism, followed by the fixation of that particular narrative structure inside the fairytale[9].

Here comes finally the fairytale: the succession of events hereby narrated is now evident – and I refer here to the central narrative axis of the story, in relation to which the temporal fissures caused by the journey, one way or the other, to the realm of the otherworld, are only loops[10].

Thus, we reach an important issue dealing with the content of the oral narratives, strongly connected to the mental processes we call *fictionalization*, and to the problem of transmission *in-between-narratives*: what kind of action do they relate? Clearly, it is one composed of sequences that are temporally, most often chronologically, disposed, but how do they present the occurrence of the narrated fact? Is the event unique or can it emerge repeatedly in its *applied* form? This is where the fundamental difference of content between the various types of narratives stays: for this *repeatability* of the narratively-communicated action is structurally connected to the type of narrative where we shall discover that particular action. Further details: *memorata* I, II and III describe actions that can happen to me, to you, to somebody we know or we do not know; the pattern is the same, the retold sequence follows the same temporality, since we all belong to the same community and we thus share a series of features appearing in our narratives. The narrative nucleus is, *par excellence*, repeatable, the actants can replace one another, as long as their narrated action naturally multiplies its episodes; we are probably in front of one of the principles controling the "perpetuation of the species" of oral tradition narrative, thus governing the many times invoked *tradition* itself.

On the frequency of occurrence of the principle of repeatability in the case of *memorata* IV there is little we know. Its nature elegantly saves it from a discussion concerning it, a discussion that therefore proves to be superfluous. In other words, we only have few reasons to support the repeatability of the action recounted in this *memorata IV*: naturally, the action can emerge repeatedly, since it is composed of the very manifestation that characterizes the mythical beings acting in these narratives. If their action ceased to be repeatable/repetitive – along the variants of

[9] The second hypothesis, although extremely attractive and optimistic, does not seem too probable.

[10] Besides, there are breaks in the spatial and temporal level, extensively documented in the *memorata*.

narratives – another type of narrative would result, having fairytale features[11]. In exchange, the fairytale offers the certitude of *irrepeatability* of the action narrated inside of it. The action recounted in the fairytale is definitive, sealing for good the fate of any king's son or fairy. If the fairytale executes, as it has been claimed, a balancing motion between an initial and a final state of equilibrium[12], the latter stops this balancing movement, once and for all, breaks it, without leaving a possibility for restoration or return. We have reasons to believe that the myth, too, the one not-present in the folkloric cultures, does the same thing.

This is how things in the big scale of things generally look like; if we are to pay attention to the differences of content between the *memorata*, we notice that for the narratives with *strigoi* [revenants], those recounting exemplarily *return* situations – since we are talking about appearances and returns of certain agents whose power includes that of world-trespassing – the scenario is obligatorily repetitive (once again, the situation we mentioned in connection to *memorata* IV: the action described through the narrative is composed by its actual repetition, seen as defining mark of the 'competence' of the mythical entity we are dealing with): here, the agent transgressing the worlds executes an operation, an alternative to the world order, and keeps executing it up to a certain point *when*: and this is the moment of the *memorata* I, II, III with actual returning-*strigoi* [revenants], moment when the cycle breaks[13]. This is the moment of the *memorata* which breaks the reversibility, turning it into irreversibility. We could move a little further on, and associate this process with the causal processes of the fantastic fairytale, with the engine of the action within it, with what causes the un-balanced balancing, from the first equilibrium all the way to the second, final, equilibrium.

The landscape of the narrative scheme depending on fictionalization complicates if we bring in those types of fairytales that have *memorata* inserted in their basic narrative tissue, as stages of the evolution and becoming of the main hero[14].

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[11] With respect to this, see the end of the Fairies' Kingdom in the tale *Crăiasa Zânelor* [The Fairies Queen] (Pop-Reteganul 1997: 62–76).

[12] Todorov 1973: 189–190.

[13] Romanian folklore is full of such narratives; not only the "fossil" folklore, but the one alive today. But the idea came to me along with the stunning resemblance between the narrative patterns of our Romanian stories and some narratives from modern Greek folklore, that I became acquainted with through Richard and Eva Blum's book: a werewolf-woman (the term is used precisely like that) continues to return to her domestic tasks, after her death, even making bread, but when she leaves, she urinates on it, making it poisonous for people and, we add, giving the clue that the woman merely comes to visit the living, that she is a *strigoi* [revenant] etc. The community decides to make her undergo specific *destrigoire* [undoing-the-revenant/revenance] rituals, especially since the hole in the tomb is visible, a clear sign of the active passage between the worlds (Blum 1970: 71).

[14] Since I found the example in Italian folklore – probably experience is the one lacking, when it comes to being able to trace it inside the Romanian space, too – I refer to it, from Italo Calvino's tale collection, where it is entitled *Il re superbo* [The Conceited King] (Calvino 1993: 546–5 52). The woman looking for the beautiful king and finally marrying him, first has to go through certain magic initiating tests that are identical, in the material narrated, to the ones described in many *memorata* (even Romanian ones).

Finally, we draw near the possibility of linking together the phenomena described so far. From the scheme of fictionalization we keep this concept, the *fictionalization,* although still insufficiently palpable, configuring it through the fact that it gains substantiality especially by the interface between the *memorata* I, II, III and IV; from many perspectives, these *memorata* behave as a block, therefore they deserve to be presented as collinear, covering the entire side of the following triangular graphic representation. The extreme cases – the tale of the personal experience, and the description of the field of action of a transgressive agent – deserve to be placed in two of the triangle's corners, something that, in geometric logic, they actually do; these are the contact 'limbs' of the *memorata*'s block, where they are in touch with *something else*, something that we describe always narratively. This is the fairytale, the third corner of the triangle of fictionalization, the fictionalization square has developed into. The fairytale signifies the fixation, the freezing of the monolithic narrative units *in a given place and time*: this could be, and probably is, precisely that mythical *illo-tempore*-in-the-centre-of-the-world, yet, paradoxically, its fixed and irreversible enunciation makes the fairytale pass into *history*, in the real-time-history of the tale (see the above-mentioned discussion on the temporal sequence in the fairytale) of that emperor, for instance, who had a daughter who would not agree to marry, finally conquered by a brave prince charming. Their matrimony is sealed and valid forever, and had they not been overcome by old age, they would be still living, yet in the state of after-the-narrative, never in that prior-the-narrative. Moving the narrative into the fairytale mould achieves, thus, the activation of the total dependence of the central narrative nucleus, on the real-time-history.

Still, on the other side of the triangle, through a sum of processes that we can only approximate through transmission formulae such as: psychologizing mechanisms, or cognitive transmission chains of whole sets of rules[15], the narrative nucleus fixed in the fairytale, anchored in clear, albeit mythical, spatial-temporal determinations, already *happened* to those chosen characters and likely-to-happen to them alone, moves into *a-history*: the event could emerge just *anytime*, *to anybody*[16]! It can therefore emerge in everyday experience, for it moves into the a-temporal domain, of viscous structure, of the eternally repeatable feats, eternally and rightfully re-approachable to the true exemplary context of the mythical *illo tempore*. When this process ends, we find ourselves in front of the *memorata* I, anew.

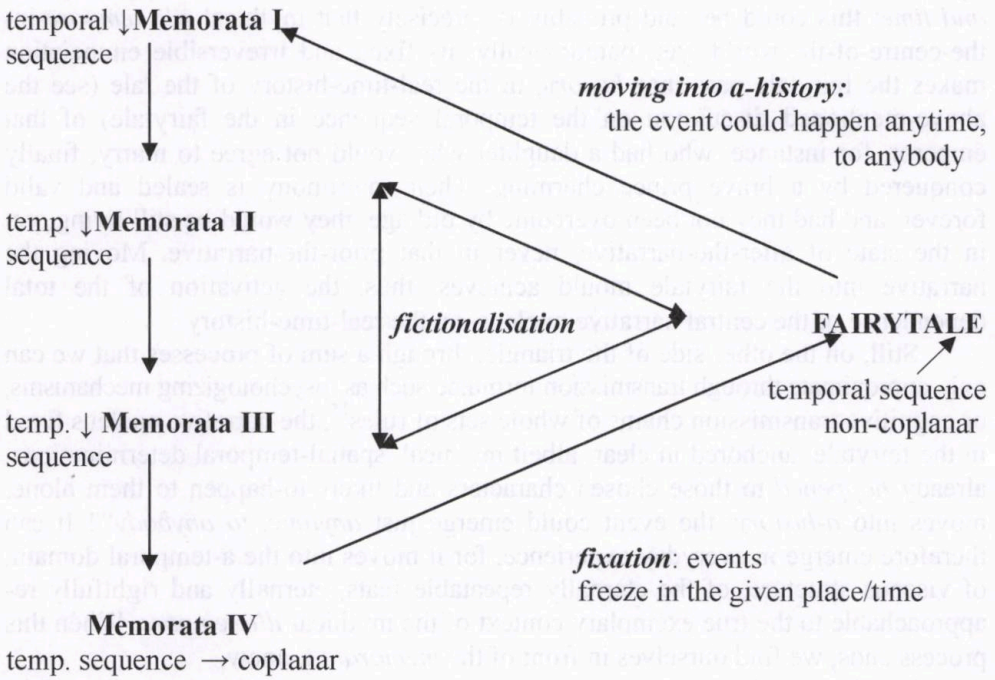
In other words, this scenario, temporally dependent on the succession of its sequences, is the link between the reversible action in the *memorata* I, II and III, whose actions follow the temporal order; then, the link with the *memorata* IV, with its temporal action linearly unfolding on a horizontal dimension; and finally, with the

[15] See Ioan Petru Culianu's extraordinary intuitions, unfortunately not-enough elaborated; more on Culianu's theoretical suggestions, see B. Neagota's article in this journal.

[16] Not just any mortal could think of narrating in the 1st person the tale of how he managed to win the Emperor's fairy daughter.

irreversible action narrated for us by the fairytale – following linearly the temporal order of events, but diagonally, since the points the line unites are not coplanar (like the ones belonging to the *memorata* IV). A logical deduction would be that divergent mechanisms are set in use in transmitting each of these narrative monoliths[17], since a certain *combinatorics* of theirs is saliently being transmitted. So, the essential question remains *what is being transmitted?*, for *how?*... still derives from that. Why do we suppose they are diverse, quite divergent? Because, from the data we have, they survive differently in time: the repeatable ones are much more longevous, since they are much easier to trust, while the unrepeatable-fixed ones, stiff in a pattern, are much more dependent on the 'narrative situations', occasions and contexts[18], on the respective circumscriptions within the flow of time.

Scheme: ***The Narrative Continuum of the Tale of Oral Tradition***



In conclusion, what appears in the triangle below does not aim at being a structural scheme, but a well-coagulated synthesis, that would offer insertion points in discussing the spaces *between* the narratives, as in-between-variants.[19]

[17] For we make the assumption that we managed to reach the monolithic group of each narrative nucleus exposed in the scheme.

[18] See the status of the stories to be narrated in Bîrlea 1966: 15–31.

[19] English translation from Romanian by Elena Butuşină, revised by the author.

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MATERNITY AS A SOURCE FOR RELIGION

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

ABSTRACT

After a long research on the theme of maternity (as culturally reflected and supported), I came to the conclusion that this brief paper summarizes: namely that the female sensitivity, based on the biological experience of pregnancy and child-birth/delivery, as well as on the psycho-neurological experience implied in maternity, is very rich in religious consequences. Moreover, realizing how "alien" to the maternal experience the traditional men were, and how minimal was the masculine contribution to the entire, complex cultural performance revolving around child-bearing, child-birth, nursing and child-rearing, it became obvious that women were the most effective in engendering/conceiving/masterminding/managing the spiritual culture of motherhood-related customs, superstitions, and folk religion gestures. Among many things, the contents of the apocryphal or simply literary legends, songs, and oral representations or superstitions related to the Virgin Mary, were all of a feminine (conceptualizing) origin – because most of them reflected the depressive/anxious common woman suffering from pregnancy, delivery and breastfeeding effects. Briefly said: the complex culture that traditional societies (such as the Romanian one) developed around the maternal conditioning was of a feminine origin, hence the religious feelings and representations of a folk nature were own to women (who faced the maternal experience). Feminist theories would draw complex conclusions out of the study of maternity and motherhood as reflected in the Romanian biographical folk culture.

Keywords: maternity, motherhood, femininity, feminism, religious sensitivity, Lord's Mother, Marian mythology, folk legends.

INTRODUCTION

In its position of a masculine-dominated institution, the Christian Church does not consider Birth as a Holy Secret and Sacrament. In some respect, it is considered holy, yet it is not included in the tables of consecrated Sacraments. A (limited) recognizance applies only in regard with the beneficiary of the act of birth (the one that is born), and not in regard with the one that gives birth (the mother), and not so much in regard with the biological fact or process of delivery. The holiness of the delivering was left for the managing lot of whatever non-Christian faiths, believes, superstitions, and religious experiences that people – and mostly women – developed over cultures and times.

As it is well-known, around childbearing, birth, delivery, child nurturing, baby breast-feeding and sleeping there is a whole universe of believes, rites, chants, charms, amulets, taboos, anxieties and superstitions. This enormously complex universe touches at times the official/dogmatic Christian faith, involves or implements it, yet it is completely parallel to it, it an almost autonomous and self-sufficient system, a real substitute for (any) religion. In the Romanian traditional culture, whatever women exchange among themselves as believes and advice, as pragmatic gesture and help, create and function as a detailed, fully/fledged religion body.

In fact, in the bulk of believes and gestures that are to be found with women familiar to the facts of pregnancy and delivery it is hardly anything to be identified as male contribution. Hence, since most of whatever connected to the oral creativity referring to birth and childrearing is feminine, the matter of female contribution to the universe of folk/popular and domestic religion should be reconsidered. In all traditional societies, women are not just carriers, keepers or guardians of religious faiths and practices, but – as it can be seen with the Romanian rural life and folklore – women are inspiring sources, creators proper.

This paper is a follow-up and deepening of much larger essays[1]; some of the ideas and developments presented here summarize the larger analysis to be found there. In the end, this particular paper invites our colleagues to contribute to the work of identifying the specific *feminine* side and contribution to the bulk of religious believes and gestures that characterizes the world of folk religion.

HUMAN BIOGRAPHY AND THE FEMININE DOMINATION

Over the entire cycle of biographical customs there is a preeminence and predominance of the female. There is a lot of stage given to men in the ceremony of wedding (the priest, the groom's group and procession, the godfather, *conăcari* [wedding callers], *staroste* [banquet manager-entertainer]); yet, the active presence of women is very obvious (the bride, bride's maidens, female preparation of food, *socăciţe* [female cooks], women's dance), so that one can say that, apparently, there is a relatively balanced participation of men and women in the ritual, celebratory and showing-off festivities of any wedding. Yet, most of the cultural elements that are performed during a wedding stress and praise continuously the bride, the communal singing (mainly led by women) repeatedly resort to the *Bride's Song*, this latter epitomizing/defining the Romanian folk wedding to its most. The family's destiny is somehow summarized as the bride's, thus, definitely, the wife's domestic and social role is the dominant core of all that is conceived and expressed during a wedding. When it comes to death/funeral ceremonies, it becomes obvious that the psychological and subconscious aspects, as well as superstitious and metaphysical ones, are the lot of feminine handlers/performers.

[1] Marian-Bălaşa 2011a, 2011b.

The unique aspect of lamenting and of the professional *bocitoare* [lamenters] (women only), stress the spiritual, daemonic and religious mediating role of women, i.e. the excellence of femininity. In its turn, at least with traditional Romanians, birth is exclusively a feminine business; reason why – plus the male exclusion – maternity/birth-giving it is the most religiously charged social and cultural event.

Despite any feminist positioning, one does have to acknowledge that, at least in the Romanian traditional culture, there is a biological conditioning and fundamentals of (folk/popular) culture and religion. And that biological conditioning/fundaments are of a feminine origin, all springing from the specific sensitivity, abysmal psychology, and religious reflexes or fears that come out of the real or imagined experience of maternity (child-bearing, child-birth).

PROXIMITY OF DEATH AND OF THE DEMONIC

The feminine childhood and adolescence is (pedagogically) marked by a sexuality fear and avoidance, and most specifically by fear of uncontrolled loss of virginity, eventually of unwanted pregnancy. Unmarried pregnancy equalized, in the traditionally cultured past, with social exclusion or at least humiliating marginalization, and psychological failure. Yet, in socially happy or acceptable situations included, and prior to any physical sickness, pregnancy and childbirth put the woman to a near-death experience. Suicide and infanticide were feared by the society in case of any fresh-mother, reason why all respectable mothers had to be closely watched over by midwifes and other females for forty days. Thus, on the occasion of pregnancy and birth, death came in many forms, all based on the woman's naturally weakened, fragile biology and psychology, all with many imaginary and religious-inspired shapes.

The folk mentality postulate that the mother to be, and then the postpartum, get to live in the proximity of the demonic world. On the one hand, fresh-mother's mind can get possessed by malign spirits; or beyond/apart from her body, female malign spirits can come and try either to twist her mind, or to strike the baby, to steal or substitute the newborn[2]. On the other hand, the folk and popular mentality preserves until nowadays the thrust in *Ursitoare* (Wishing-Fairies), a kind of rather neutral fairies – although sometimes cruel, sometimes good – that gather during the first three nights after birth and set up the entire biographical fate of the newborn. If the first set of malign ghosts represent a continuity of the ancient, pagan world (and this was sometimes identified with the Judeo-Christian bulk of devilish figures[3]), the

[2] The enemy can be the Satan/Devil (*Necuratul*), but most of the time there is a frustrated female demon (Samcă, Avestița, *măiestrele*, *vânt/vârtej/volbură* [winds], Vidme, *duhuri necurate* [soiled ghosts], *rusalii*, *friguri* [shivers], Fata Pădurii [Forest's Girl], witches that should be feared.

[3] Hypostasis of a "theological devilness" (*diavolescului teologic* – Ispas 1994) or of a "malign sacred" (*sacrul malign* – Ştiucă 2001a, b)?

second set is of an animistic heritage and actually the only real-animistic presence in the Romanian contemporary society. This animism is obvious especially in the fact that people lay a table and share with these fairies a symbolic meal, that the offerings are presumably consumed by the wishing fairies or at least are given away afterwards to little girls or boys. If the medical standards of nowadays let to the disappearance of the demonic feminine spirits in people's imagination, the belief in Wishing-fairies and the custom of lying a table for the well-wishing and good-fate setting-up have survived. Men, fresh fathers or not, still share and obey this „feminine" believe and custom. Though the demonic of the *Ursitoare* was somehow tamed, the bettering actions of honoring and nourishing them still does not keep the folks away from fear, desires or other ambiguous feelings.

FRAGILE PSYCHOLOGY AND THE POSTPARTUM DEPRESSION

The feminist ethnology could identify in Elena Didia Odorica Sevastos a surprising forerunner, because, in the 19th century, she is the first – and almost only – folklorist that, on the one hand, connects the avantgarde scientific knowledge to folk mentalities, on the other hand professes something that could be called *empathic anthropology*. For example, in her book dedicated to birth among Romanians, the chapter called *The Birth* is subtitled, relevantly, *The Woman's Toiling*[4]. There, the way Mrs. Sevastos describes the birth labor stressing on the child's trauma, on the physical pain, is not only veridical. For example, she describes the flux of a baby's first breathing gestures (which scratches and dries up the trachea and alveoli)[5], such details showing scientific-medical knowledge. Only that stressing the suffering principle, the sufferance in general, Mrs. Sevastos' option indirectly explains also the Marian mythology (expressed by the multiple practices of evoking the Lord's Mother as an empathic ghost and maternal assistant). The same way, when she describes the birth labor, when she describes the postpartum psychology, Sevastos nearly surpasses any masculine imagination or interpretation capacity. Her text bears the marks of the legitimate subjectivity, perhaps of personal knowledge, of personal experience.

[4] Sevastos, 1892: 116–125.

[5] „Neputând face nici o întrebuinţă de organile şi simţurile noastre, copilul care se nasce are trebuinţă de toate felurile de ajutoare; copilul îi icoana mizeriei şi a durerei; în accest timp el este mai slab de cât toate animalele, viaţa sa nesigură se clatină, părând a se sfârşi în fie ce minut; nu se pote sprijini, nici a se mişca; de abea are puterea trebuitoare pentru a trăi şi pentru a vesti prin gemete suferinţele ce le încearcă ca şi când natura ar vroi să-l vestească că-i născut pentru a supăra şi că nu vine printre oameni decât pentru a împărţi neputinţele şi greutăţile" [*Unable to make any use of our organs and senses, the child that is born needs all kinds of help; the child is the icon of misery and pain; in the same time he is weaker than all animals, his uncertain life balances, looking like ending up each and every moment; he cannot help himself, neither move around; he barely has the needed strength to live and to signal by sobbing the pains he suffers, as if the nature would warn him that he's born to bother and that he comes among people only to share weaknesses and burdens*] (Sevastos 1892: 161–162).

Talking about the hypersensitivity of a fresh mother, Sevastos notes:

Any nervous excitation can shake up her entire body. Some even die, other go crazy or remain in fear for their entire life. The postpartum woman is like a balance: the smallest weight set on one side startles her equilibrium; in some cases she strengthens up, in some other she's lost. The fresh mother must be guarded during her burden, when nothing came to shake her soul, to bitter up her life with dark and painful thoughts and, if left alone all sort of strange things can glitter in her mind. A small thing, set in shade, takes before her the most exaggerated and ferocious proportions; an unclear voice that comes to her ear seems to her frightening and threatening. Her sensitivity and susceptibility are to such a tension that one step only can push her into insanity. Who in his life has never seen a dead passing or a big fire? Well, the postpartum woman should not see it, otherwise she fell sick or mad, this is why the postpartum woman must be guarded[6].

Apart from the precious empathic understanding of the 19th century ethnologist, it is a fact that physical pain and vital risk, accompanied by mental fragility, are the lot of woman in position to give birth. Among other facts, the fact that the woman in labor and after child delivery is prone to mental fragility has found in the female and mother archetype of Virgin Mary the best illustration and reference.

THE LORD'S MOTHER ARCHETYPE

The folk legends about Virgin Mary's pregnancy, delivery, and anxieties or foreseeing dreams depicts, actually, a common woman; more exactly, the psychology of a common mother. As shown in legends and in many Christmas *colinde*, the Lord's Mother nurtures the worries and fears that characterizes any would-be mother of the folk, traditional society; in fact, she manifests the symptoms that are nowadays well-known, studied and treated in the case of PPD (post-partum depression). The Lord's Mother has nightmares (she is chased, on the run, her son is crucified); she cries, despairs, wants to commit suicide, blesses and curses more or less whimsically people and animals around her. Of course, she serves as a model and idol, because her son is The World's Saviour, and because her pains, anxiety and fears are tempered down by the confirmation and revelations offered by either God, dreams, or baby Jesus himself. However, it is her exemplary suffering that helps the common mother to surpass her own, present suffering and

[6] "Orice aţâtare nervoasă poate să-i sdruncene tot organismul. Unele chiar mor, altele înebunesc sau rămân cu o frică pentru toată viaţa. Femeia lehuză e ca o cumpănă: cea mai mică greutate pusă într-o parte îi tulbură echilibrul; în unele cazuri se îndreaptă, în altele-i pierdută. Femeea lehuză [trebuie] păzită în timpul sarcinei, când nimic nu a venit să-i sgudue sufletul, să-i amărească viaţa cu gânduri negre şi dureroase şi încă de o laşi singură i se năzar fel de fel de minunăţii. Un lucru de nimic pus în penumbră ia pentru dânsa proporţiele cele mai exagerate şi mai fioroase, un glas neînţeles ce îi vine la ureche i se pare înfiorător şi ameninţător. La dânsa sensibilitatea şi susceptibilitatea îs în astfel de grad încât un singur pas numai şi o poate duce la nebunie. Cine nu vede în viaţa lui trecând un mort, ori un foc mare? Ei bine, lehuza nu trebue să vadă, căci s-ar îmbolnăvi şi chiar înebuni, şi tocmai pentru aceasta femeea lehuză se păzeşte" (op.cit.: 196).

mental fragility. And only by thinking of Lord's Mother, by remembering her story and by watching her icon, rural mothers of yore became capable of balancing or surpassing their own pains and anxieties, sickness or depression.

THE MIDWIFERY INSTITUTION

In Romanian traditional society, the midwife is more than a kin and in-law, mother and godmother. She is above all of those, and reach out to be and play the role of an intermediary between the humane and the demonic and divine, the role of a sacerdote. First, she is very respected by the entire community. Second and foremost, when professing – around a woman in labor and postpartum – she has total authority over the entire household and family membership. She must be very skillful not only in what the pragmatic and medical aspects of delivery and nourishing are concerned, but also in regard with religious and magical proficiencies. A midwife should master prayers – set/popular orthodox formulae or improvised invocations – and especially *descântece*, i.e. charms specialized for a very large array of needs, perils, or situations. She must instruct other girls, women, wives, and mothers-to-be on the minute gestures and social behaviors that are specific to a pregnant woman and a freshmother, and in this respect the code of conduct turns to be strange, peculiar, tabooistic, to some extent secret and barely known to men and to the rest of society. Then, when around a woman in labor, midwives must also know or be able to recognize all the mental, imaginary, spiritual, demonic or social dangers or annoyances that might come upon the mother or the newborn, and must act against them in magical ways. Apart from vocal chants, supplications, cursing and invoking formulae, they must handle the auspicious, protective or fending off capacities of iron (needle, scissors, horseshoe), red thread or comb, water or spit. In case of a vital danger or incertitude, the midwife can play the role of a priest, by improvising a mini-baptism (water or dirt/soil being used). She can have oracular dreams, she can dream of or hear the Wishing-fairies talks. In the real life, her role diminishes in time, the mother and the godmother take over her strong hand on the life and development of the child. Yet, to any person, the midwife remains an intimate figure behind the mother, the one who mediates not only the biological coming to life, but also the spiritual/religious entering the world.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

Briefly put, human's entrance into life is accompanied and mediated by numerous kinds of feminine entities. Apart from each person's mother, there are the real bodies of the midwife, of the female neighbors and relatives that bring food for the mother, of the little girls that come to help or to take away whatever was offered to the Wishing-fairies. There are, also, the imaginary feminine beings of

(virtual) demons and diseases, and especially the protective image and example of Lord's Mother/Virgin Mary. In case of danger and vital disease, there can be female neighbors, passers-by or godmothers that can temporary or symbolically "buy" and change the name of the child (as well as baptize the baby). The entire culture around pregnancy, motherhood, childbearing and childrearing is a feminine business; it is based on the empathic understanding of the feminine (psychology/sensitivity), and should be considered of a feminine origin, of feminine creativity. Ultimately, femininity is not only a source for conscious inspiration to man-founded/branded culture, but also a source for the subconscious founding of religious feelings, beliefs, practices. Briefly put, the experience of pain and anguish, and the proximity of death and insanity, set the pregnant woman and the fresh mother into the position of a sensitivity that is close to religious experience and creativity. Maternity might not be a source for religion in a social-political, institutional way; yet, as far as strong religious sense, feelings, imagination, representation, fantasy, ideas, and religious psychology in general, it is a vast and potent source, indeed.

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BREAST CANCER IN SYMBOLS AND WORDS

MOJCA RAMŠAK

ABSTRACT

The awareness of the disease and preventive actions against it should go beyond mere oncological facts and statistics. The effective prevention walks hand in hand with understanding of cultural and social perceptions, stereotypes and myths. Therefore the article analyses most popular and wide spread symbols and metaphors for breast cancer like globally used pink ribbons and orange bracelets, breast cancer internet activism and metaphorical uses of both, objects and words. It explores the social and cultural connection with the disease which still carries deadly connotations and the meaning of objects and metaphors to those who use them and to the people they are addressed to.

Keywords: breast cancer, symbols of breast cancer, metaphors for breast cancer.

I. BREAST CANCER AND ITS SYMBOLS

1.1. The pink ribbon

Every October the media devote major attention to the colour pink, pink ribbons, statistical data on breast cancer and a range of data on the prevention and early detection of the disease. October has been the month of the fight against breast cancer since 1985. But what is the origin of the principal symbol, a pink ribbon tied into a bow and worn on one's clothes? Everything started with the light pink colour of the peaks distributed to the women participants of the "Race for the Cure" by the Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation. The next year same organization gave the participants of the race in New York peach ribbons. The real breakthrough for the introduction of the peach ribbon was an event connected with Charlotte Haley. Her idea to make the dissatisfaction of women with government medical institutions visible later saw a genuine marketing boom. She was a 68-year-old women who started to make peach coloured ribbons at home in 1992. Her three closest female relatives all had breast cancer. She gave away thousands of ribbons in sets of five in malls, accompanied by a visiting card with the following text: "The National Cancer Institute yearly receives 1.8 billion dollars, but spends only five percent of it on cancer prevention. Help us to wake up our lawmakers and America, wear the ribbon!" In addition, she sent the same message including ribbons to all the former First Ladies of the USA and other important

figures, and this made her efforts widely known. Soon the cosmetics company Estée Lauder and the Self magazine asked Haley for permission to use her ribbon. They were taken aback when she turned them down and did not want to have anything to do with them, because she considered them too commercial. But they did not give up and after consulting with their lawyers decided to use a different colour, choosing pink. Pink is a playful, girlish, lovely colour, which eases, comforts, calms, reduces stress, heals – that is everything contrary to breast cancer, because with breast cancer patients the disease usually means loss of a part of their femininity. Charlotte Haley's symbol was soon history[1], but pink ribbon became the world symbol of breast cancer and the pastel pink ribbon is the best-seller of all ribbons. A new way of marketing emerged in the name of good causes, offering consumers products of the same quality and for the same price, but of which part of the profits went for charity purposes. Breast cancer turned into a safe disease for marketing, as it is not associated, unlike AIDS, with unsafe ways of living. Furthermore, breast cancer is not a politically explosive subject like e.g. abortion, artificial insemination or euthanasia and requires minimal input from the corporate sector. All that is required is to add a pink ribbon to the packaging of a product[2].

The symbolic meaning of the ribbon derives from its colour. Many other groups who act for or against something adopted other colours and some colours symbolize several ideas. Pink is the colour of femininity and it is therefore not surprising that the pink ribbon became the official symbol of the fight against breast cancer, because it is a largely women's disease.

The symbolic meaning of October is for over 90 000 women in European Union and more than 400 women in Slovenia fruitless, because these women didn't detect the disease on time, they were not treated fast and effectively or the luck turned away from them and they died. Among them are also 2% of men, who are stigmatised twice. First, because they have a women's disease, and second, because it's a disease, which carries cultural disconfort. Breast cancer in men in Slovenia is extremely rare ("only" 12 or 13 cases are diagnosed in Slovenia yearly) and according to the experiences of oncologists men would not want to expose themselves at all, because they feel even more stigmatised then women. One consequence of gender roles is that men rather under-report about their disease, rarely participate in support groups, delay seeking medical treatment, try not to complain and to stay in control, deny and repress their emotions etc.[3]

Factors that influence on breast cancer mortality are lack of knowledge, weak education, cultural perceptions, language barriers, late detection of the disease, limited access to treatment and bad social-economic conditions. People living in bad conditions die more often not only because of limited access to treatment, but also because they have very little social support, because they don't want to burden

[1] Moffet 2003: 290; Politics of Breast Cancer 2006.
[2] Fernandez 1998, reprint on Think Before You Pink.
[3] White 2006: 132–133, 144; Ramšak 2007: 20.

their relatives and because they have no opportunity to change bad habits to good ones. On the other hand fear and fatalism are the main obstacles that women don't go to mamography screening and with this they reduce their chances to discover cancer on time. For higher awareness of women there are public preventive programmes[4] and many of them were developed using approaches of social marketing.

1.2. Pink coffins in the name of charity

The consumer oriented philanthropy in the field of breast cancer spread from the USA, Canada, or Great Britain, and unfortunately, European countries became pinkwashed as well. The pink ribbon is used by hundreds of companies, especially from the pharmaceutical, cosmetic, food, and fashion industries. Pink ribbons feature on products ranging from tasteless examples of pink-ribbon products to personal help of diseased women. The products range from post stamps, milk, yoghurts, soups, teas, breakfast cereal, breast cancer-awareness-themed vegetables, candy (chewing gum, bonbons, pink chocolate chips, pink cups), dog/cat/bird food, glasses for alcoholic drinks, toilet paper, tissues, toothpastes, make-up, pink textile and leather products (ski boots, high-heeled shoes, clogs, fashion accessories like bags, gloves, jewellery, wrist watches), tatoos, toys (Barby dolls, plushy toys, poker cards), sport equipment (tennis rackets, boxing-gloves, golf balls), stationery office supplies (pink-ribbon paper, file folders, calculators, daily planners, pens, tape dispensers), hobby programme (hammers, padlocks, fishing gear), household appliances (vacuum cleaners, refrigerators) and other requisites (vegetable peelers, pots and pans, cleaning products, sweepers), mattresses, cars, mobile phones, USB keys, digital cameras, laptops, i-pods, airplanes and airplane fast food, fast food, Christmas and New Year's decoration, to plastic breasts mounted taxidermy-style on wood that move and play music and "ladies night out" breast cancer-themed limos. As the last coloured stress for women died because of breast cancer, somewhere in USA they can also have pink funerals[5].

Not to have and sell pink products or products with a pink ribbon in October is seen as being indifferent to breast cancer. This of course ignores one the principles of charity marketing: the purpose of the charity must match the product it advertises. How can canned food or fast food like fried chicken, candy, glasses for alcoholic drinks and alcohol itself, etc. contribute to raising the awareness on the importance of healthy food in general and in particular for breast cancer? Pinkwashing denotes the marketing practices of corporations which sponsor charity and claim to be leading in the fight against breast cancer, while at the same time they advertise products which may even increase the number of diseased. When the name of a company is associated with charity, it is actually advertised, thus

[4] Talbert 2008: 348, 353.
[5] Ramšak 2013: 52.

increasing it profits. Marketing logic loves breast cancer. But let's not forget: Breast cancer is a disease and not a marketing opportunity.

Because of such psychological abuses of customers and the trivialization of breast cancer, an increasing number of non-profit organizations have been warning for about two decades to be critical, pay attention to pink campaigns, and to read the small pink print under the advertisements. Pink products indeed diminish the effectiveness of genuine charity actions, because they allocate too little funds to the purpose they advertise, and they also advertise products that are harmful to health, e.g. cosmetic products containing parabens and polycyclic hydrocarbons which are used in the automobile industry.

Think Before You Pink, is a project of Breast Cancer Action, launched in 2002 in response to the growing concern about the overwhelming number of pink ribbon products and promotions on the market. The campaign calls for more transparency and accountability by companies that take part in breast cancer fundraising, and encourages consumers to ask critical questions about pink ribbon promotions. The campaign started to encourage consumers to ask questions before buying pink, among them: Is the product bad for my health, where is the money going, and how much is going there? As well as encourage people to make donations directly to causes they support rather than shopping for the causes. The pinker the October gets, the more conflicted and exploited feel women with breast cancer[6]. In 2004, the Think Before You Pink campaign focused on the inefficiency of funding breast cancer research by buying pink ribbon products. Despite the popularity of pink cause marketing, we don't know how much money is actually raised each year, how much is being spent, and where all the dollars are going. Without coordination of research, money is being wasted. People taking action on the campaign watched the problem, and then sent a message directly to the major breast cancer research funders about working together[7].

Awareness of breast cancer means much more than carrying pink products in one's handbag or even the purchase of highly required mammotomes with donated funds. Awareness means that regular prevention schemes are self-evident, adequate treatment is available, and that stereotypes are discarded. Awareness means to associate breast cancer with health in general and wider social problems like e.g. environment pollution, appropriate working conditions, regular and wholesome food, good-quality living conditions, and a guaranteed regular income that allows people to live a healthy lifestyle. Knowledge of the real image of the disease is not just a matter of civil-society initiatives, but should become a part of regular education programs and receive much more intensive government support.

Women need much more than a pink ribbon on their chest government-funded research on prevention and environmental causes of breast cancer. In particular, because breast cancer was a stigma in the 20th century and every positive

[6] Frieswick 2009; Think before you pink Toolkit 2011.
[7] Think before you pink Toolkit 2011.

diagnosis was a personal tragedy which had to be lived through in privacy and isolation. Women with breast cancer were victims and this led them to be passive and often caused them to die from the disease. The spread of AIDS later changed this mentality, because the diseased refused to remain victims, they wanted to be merely people who had AIDS. The interest of the industry in breast cancer emerged together with activism in the past two decades, and certainly increased the wider cultural awareness. At first, the industry's interest was accidental and eclectic and its incorporation in the fight against breast cancer was even positive, because it brought the diseased something cheerful in their situation. Unfortunately, charity marketing related to breast cancer is conducted in such a way that its pink image brings more alienation than benefits, because most women cannot feel this cheerfulness in the course of their treatment. To some women breast cancer really is a kind of challenge and an appeal to radically change their lifestyle, but the majority is terrified, confused, helpless and angry, and cannot identify themselves with the culture of the pink ribbon[8].

Pink marketing in a way denigrates women who succumb to the disease and sends out the psychologically harmful message that they did not fight hard enough. This again shifts the responsibility for the disease and its treatment to the private sphere. Consumer oriented campaigns also exclude women who simply do not have the financial means to participate in them. These campaigns address a limited target audience – young, slender, feminine, attractive women with a girlish figure. The images they advertise are therefore limited to a topless female torso with discretely covered breasts, and very rarely feature normal or overweight women, let alone ugly women[9].

The images of the women used in advertisements calling for support to reduce breast cancer feature archetypical examples of youth + covered, healthy breasts + various pink accents and ornaments. Their message is that breasts are a supreme symbol of femininity. Such fetishism of women's breasts in well-meant campaigns as part of the fight against breast cancer can be quite counterproductive. It seems that advertising that takes possession of the female body has become so general that it is legitimate for quite any purpose. A woman who controls her breasts has been an iconographic image aimed to arouse sexually for a long time[10]. Breast cancer does get a disproportionate share of publicity as compared to other cancers and diseases in general. The part of the reason for this lies in breasts being over-glorified as sexual commodities and the defining features of attractive womanhood – so as well as the health aspect of losing a breast, there's the sexual appeal to consider. This makes breast cancer seem disproportionately more terrible. Testicular cancer has some parallels in that many men can perceive this to be a

[8] King 2006.
[9] King 2006.
[10] Yalom 1997: 188, 190.

threat to their notion of manhood. The difference may be that testicles are less visible and less fetishistic.

Numerous marketing campaigns use a major share of the collected funds, sometimes even half, for the organization of the event itself, not for donations to hospitals or concrete research projects. Their operation in the name of the fight against breast cancer is indeed not transparent enough, and people increasingly wonder what share exactly is used for the good cause, and what programs are supported by the collected money. They increasingly suggest that it would be better to transfer the collected funds directly to the accounts of non-profit organizations, which they trust, than to be exploited by corporations, who benefit immensely from mass campaigns against breast cancer. Many companies indeed abuse the feelings of uninformed, uncritical and well-meaning customers by promoting pink ribbons, but essentially promote their own products[11].

1.3. Actions in Europe

In Europe preventive actions, social and medical support is in the heart of many organizations fighting against breast cancer. Activities on Breast Health Day (15th October) across Europe in 45 Europa Donna (The European Breast Cancer Coalition) member countries and in Israel in 2010 consisted of different kinds of events. According to Europa Donna reports there were following activities:

– general informing on prevention of breast cancer, promotion of magazines and booklets, distribution of leaflets and other educational materials, media relations activities, educational campaigns in the cities as well in rural areas;

– special educational events like conferences, workshops, creative competitions among students to raise awareness of breast cancer, campaigns to share stories;

– political action like meetings in a senate, silent walk;

– art and other performances like benefit concerts, trade exhibitions, lighting the buildings in pink, fashion shows, special auctions, entertainment programs;

– physical activities like running and walking for hope or health[12].

So far raising money for better and timely access to medical treatment and preventive activities are the biggest concerns of all NGO's fighting against breast cancer. If there is something that deserves praise in Slovenia, is the high transparency of the advertisements for good causes, that is, against breast cancer. Campaigns in support of fighting breast cancer, either of a cultural or sports nature, e.g. races, cycling, marches and the like are regularly reported on by non-profit organizations and their results are published on websites or in the specialist magazines to raise awareness against breast cancer or other cancers (like *Europa Donna News* and *Okno*). Other media also report on these events. They also report on campaigns aimed at, for instance, collecting money for a diagnostic apparatus,

[11] Politics of Breast Cancer 2006.

[12] Europa Donna 2010.

the sum collected, and some time later how the apparatus or funds were handed over to public hospital or clinics. There is no doubt that these campaigns are well coordinated, even if they are run by different associations or companies[13]. But in order to identify abuses one needs to know the mechanisms of pinkwashing mentioned in this chapter.

1.4. Orange bracelets

Pink ribbons have the same symbolic meaning as the recently introduced and presently quite fashionable orange silicon *Livestrong* bracelets. They first appeared in May 2004. The proceedings of the sales go to the Lance Armstrong Foundation, founded by the Texan professional cyclist Lance Edward Gunderson Armstrong, who recovered from testicular cancer which had spread to his lungs, abdomen and brain. In spite of this, Armstrong won the Tour de France, the stage race over more than 3500 km, seven times between 1999 and 2005. His achievements in professional cycling sport and dramatic recovery from cancer encouraged him to found a cancer foundation in 1997. The *Livestrong* bracelets are produced by the Nike company and over 70 million bracelets were sold all over the world in three years, thus collecting over 5 million dollar for the Lance Armstrong Foundation. The yellow orange colour of the bracelets is the colour of the jersey Armstrong wore as leader and winner of the Tour de France. In the USA, the bracelets became highly fashionable in a very short time and were worn by politicians, actors, television anchors, thus increasing their popularity and donations to the fight against cancer. As with the pink ribbons, the colour of the silicon bracelets is the element that has a symbolic meaning for a specific disease.

The success of the *Livestrong* bracelets led to numerous other charity campaigns around the world, using bracelets in the fight against cancer. The winning mentality that became known thanks to Lance Armstrong is the motto of many associations of oncological patients. Its campaigns brought about an important shift: people with breast cancer or any other cancer were no longer victims of the disease, but survivors. Survival has become the central theme, marketing has focused on it, and this has certainly helped to remove the stigma from the disease. In 2012, when Lance Armstrong publicly confessed that he was using prohibited drugs to win the races, he withdrew himself from the Foundation, because his spoiled reputation could hurt its goals.

1.5. Internet activism and other forms of apparent charity

People's fear of cancer and the still unknown causes of its origin have led to a phenomenon in recent years that should be given a much more critical evaluation. Frequent phenomena are international Internet scams which find their way into our e-mail boxes as chain letters. These scam letters mostly circulate between friends

[13] Ramšak 2007.

and colleagues. The target audience, are usually women, not men, at least in cases of chain letters containing medical warnings. This Internet activism is mostly a mixture of various warnings concerning mass consumer products and the conspiracy theories that are behind them on the one hand, and appeals for help on the other hand. Some chain letters reach the same address several times in a short period and try to influence us emotionally; many of the recipients are not sensible enough not to forward them any further. To make these scams convincible, the letters are given an appearance of credibility: they are often signed with the names, surnames and other contact information of, for instance, medical superintendents and surgeons. This should guarantee the truth of the content, but the poor language used in the messages and the references to companies, mostly from USA, fail to arouse some common sense in many forwarders. A typical feature of these fake messages is indeed that they refer to big companies or media houses, which are said to be the source of the information the messages warn about and that the danger emerged very recently.

Forwarding chain letters is connected with lay or popular ideas about health and disease. These are thought patterns used by individuals, communities or cultures to explain how to stay healthy and how diseases come about. The imagery often includes local ideas about the body and health which are not necessarily related to medical explanations of disease. Lay ideas about a disease are more than just an explanation of its causes; they differ from culture to culture and are also socially and economically determined. When people fall ill they want to know why, they want to give the disease some kind of meaning and are also interested in how they fell ill[14].

Many people sincerely contribute to charity aims, but because of the reasons mentioned above, another form of apparent charity exists, characterized by people wishing to do something good with the least effort or no effort at all.

This includes among others:

– forwarding electronic messages (e.g. to collect money for the surgery of a child with cancer);

– warnings against products of which they have heard that they are harmful or contaminated (e.g. deodorants which in combination with shaving one's armpits cause cancer, or tampons containing chlorine, which are also supposed to cause cancer);

– warnings against sexual and other practices held to be "morally harmful" by certain environments (e.g. that women who once or twice a week practice oral sex with their partner or husband have a 40% higher risk to contract breast cancer).

People may indeed have the illusion that they have really done something useful or good in spite of always being short of time. The problem of such instant charity acts is that people quickly forget why they signed a message, do not follow up the scheme to the end and thus never find out whether it had any positive effect.

[14] Trollope-Kumar–Last, *Encyclopedia of Public Health*.

Medical hoaxes on cancer circulating on Internet belong to genre of urban legends. The analysis of 42 e-mail letters published on *Urban Legends Reference Pages*, the definitive Internet reference source for urban legends, folklore, myths, rumours, and misinformation[15] show that only 3 stories were true by a preponderance of reliable evidence[16]. Other 27 e-mail letters were not established as true by the same criteria, and 12 cases had multiple truth values with disputed claims where facts were too contradictory or insufficient to establish as either true or false.

The contents of false or insufficient e-mail stories tried to collect money for:

– cancer research in general;

– help a seven-year-old girl dying of cancer;

– help children or young people with lung cancer and brain tumour (8 cases);

– help children with brain cancer who wanted to receive birthday cards (2 cases);

– help cancer sufferers who wanted to set a world record for number of birthday cards or of business cards received (2 cases);

– help a nine-year-old boy dying of cancer, who wanted people to send him business cards.

In other stories the money was raised for transplantations, burns, car and brain injuries, epileptic children, children who were victims of family violence like memorializing the shaken baby death, victims of family rape or shots[17].

Some Internet chain letters had one or at the most two photos per case showing the stylized infants like on birth or birthday congratulations cards (2 cases); photos of infants or children while sleeping, playing, drawing, posing, sitting on wheel-chare, infants with badly burnt face, infants in a hospital bed on respirator, infants with a reddish mass on the side of the face (8 cases). In several cases photos were removed when the cases were outdated or when they were confirmed as false. Loose ethics of published images shows tensions to make disease photogenic to impact philanthropic feelings of viewers. Showed images are kind of a reality show, tending to be reality philanthropy. The focus of the camera, performing contexts, showing the vulnerability of the subjects lead to creating an image, which might serve the needs of acquiring money, but it's not necessary that it reflects reality. The text and images of Internet medical appeals have some common characteristics. In the case of sick children they represent the "other", who is ignorant, passive, helpless, sometimes coming from lees developed countries (like Romania, Poland, India, but never from Africa to avoid association with the

[15] www.snopes.com – chapter Medical Appeals, eds. Barbara and David P. Mikkelson, 1995–2012.

[16] I.e. collecting Christmas cards for a seven-year-old boy with terminal cancer who wanted to collect a million Christmas cards, but he passed away in 2010 and his parents requested that no more cards be sent to him; 2. a mother seeking medical help in 2007 for her ten-year-old son in a minimally conscious state; and 3. an e-mail memorializes the shaken baby death of three-month-old girl in 2007.

[17] Medical Appeals, Urban Legends Reference Pages, 2012.

abundance of e-mails, which usually automatically end up as unwanted). The viewer who gets such message is addressed between the lines as adult, intelligent, active and above all willing to help. Sometimes philanthropic initiatives are successful financially, but less morally. The fact that money is raised for good causes, doesn't excuse every method that is used and every image that is showed[18].

And besides that, with electronic chain letters it is not even necessary that the sender suggest to the addressees to forward them, because the latter often consider it their social duty. Chain letters are neither serious not reliable. They are also an interference with our privacy, because our e-mail address is spread around without any control; the forwarders usually know nothing about internet etiquette or the rules of data protection, and thus fail to erase or hide the names of the addressees in multiple forwarding. They simply forward whole chains with the same contents as received by those who sent them the message.

The other frequent chain e-mail addressed to women contains the motif of contamination (i.e. sanitary towels or tampons, cosmetic products for personal care) that might cause gynaecologic cancer or breast cancer. The motif of contamination is the most common type of urban legends circulating in different forms and creating panic in relation to various products or their ingredients; these are supposed to contain harmful substances, e.g. insects, parasites, deadly bacteria, viruses, poisons, and other repulsive admixtures. Even though it is obvious that these messages show a lack of knowledge and false ideas about the agents and carriers of various diseases, they are nevertheless a form of social power manifesting itself as distrust in and aversion against authorities and corporations; occasionally they contain moral discourses. Contamination can have the form of contact with a substance that is biologically and socially far removed from the true nature of man[19].

Whether such messages are forwarded by e-mail, mentioned in the media or told by friends, they all have common characteristics. They always try to appear founded on "facts", convince us by referring to important people, whose authority is supposed to influence our attitude to the problem. All these elements of the message and its vast numbers are to have a great effect and are aimed at getting under the skin of the recipient. As a genre, this form of message advises, warns and informs with incredible speed and authority, directly affecting people's decisions about their health[20].

In general, however, these interventions circulating between people as tales, myths, stereotypes or phrases shape the cultural image of the disease and help us understand what fears and expectations people have to cope with when they think about cancer.

[18] Skinner 2010: 4–6.
[19] Goldstein 2004: 39–41.
[20] Goldstein 2004: 28.

Examination of factors, important in maintaining good health in the long term, show, that there is a weak political will to support women's health disparities seriously. Breast cancer risk is increasing globally and the disease cannot be treated with political promises. Therefore the role of different NGO's, fighting against breast cancer, is of vital importance, especially in providing relevant information to wider audience, raising money for medical equipment and providing psychological support.

II. BREAST CANCER AND METAPHORS

2.1. Breast cancer and metaphors

A history of imagery of the body would include many metaphors borrowed from the arts and technology, notably architecture. Some of them are used in sermons and poetry and refer to the body as a temple. Others have considerable scientific resonance, such as the notion of the body as a factory or fortress. The fortress metaphor has a long pre-science genealogy, in which illness is a metaphor of mortality, human frailty and vulnerability[21].

Many medical metaphors have been adopted in other spheres of everyday life, e.g. in political language, sports, etc. Consider, for instance, these: "a cancer growing on the body of the Slovene nation", problems "spreading like the cancer of hatred", or other traumas spreading like "a cancer, poisoning interpersonal and international relations". If anything in society is similar to cancer or reminiscent of another disease, it is disgusting, ugly and unacceptable. In the past such ideas were largely connected with epidemics and diseases as collective disasters. In the past two centuries, however, individual diseases were used as metaphors of evil. The words used to describe cancer are reminiscent of a catastrophe, and we refer to it as an abnormal and illogical growth. The cancer, not the patient, has all the energy and is out of control. Cancer metaphors are used in politics to justify harsh measures, supporting the general opinion that it is a fatal disease. Disease metaphors are never neutral in political language. Disease is often used as a metaphor to enhance accusations of corruption or injustice in society. Metaphors inspired by serious but treatable diseases on the one hand, and fatal diseases on the other hand, are largely used to express powerful emotions. The symbolic meanings of diseases are also used to express concern about social progress[22], or abused, among others, in election campaigns. To attract voters, slogans may invite people to vote for a candidate who has recovered from a cancer disease, someone who is a winner even when fighting for life or death.

Metaphors based on human anatomy include opposites. Attention to this was drawn by George Lakoff, one of the founders of the modern theory of metaphors[23].

[21] Sontag 1991: 94.
[22] Sontag 1991: 60–84.
[23] Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980.

Let's have a look at examples from everyday life, arranged according to the logic of opposites of certain orientational metaphors, introduced by Lakoff and Johnson[24]. Encouraged by their typology of orientational metaphors, I added some other types, which frequently occurred in the answers of the sixty-six women who had breast cancer, or had recovered from breast cancer and who answered to my questionnaire about social and cultural aspects of that disease between June and November 2006[25]. These types of orientational metaphors are: up–down, in–out, front–back, on–off, deep–shallow, central–peripheral, outside–inside, light–dark, sweet–bitter, life is a journey, colour–colourlessness, passivity–activity. The last category will be dealt with in detail in the following section, because the military metaphors used in medicine are actually extreme orientational metaphors emphasising action.

- up = good # down = bad

Health is up and disease is down. That is the basic metaphor derived from the anatomy of the human body, in which the upper part of the body, especially the head, is "good" and the lower part from the waist down, is "bad". We often say: "I'm really down" or, when feeling bad, we "breakdown"; when tired, we "faint" or, if worse, "fall into a coma". When we are seriously ill, the "disease cuts us down", destroys us down to our roots. When we are sad and suffer mentally, we look "downcast". When we recover, "we're back on our feet", that is standing straight, and when we are doing very well we "firmly stand on the ground". After being diagnosed with cancer, the up-down metaphor is quite frequently used: "I felt completely down, everything fell apart". This is about the loss of hope, joy, and inner balance. Other women felt similarly struck down: "When I learned of the diagnosis, I felt terrible, insignificant, down, devastated" or: "I had a feeling that the world had fallen apart" or: "At that moment my legs just gave out." And because hope remains even in the face of the most serious diseases, optimism keeps patients "on their feet".

- out = good # in = bad

The metaphor "from outside" expresses an orientation from a space outside something, e.g. outside the human body and this indicates a dualistic conception of the body and soul or a position that is not within the limits of a certain concept. To be "out of danger" (of dying) means to have a chance to survive. To view oneself from outside, e.g. immediately after being diagnosed with a disease, means to view oneself with the eyes of a healthy person. "I calmly accepted the diagnosis. As if this wasn't happening to me."

- light = good # heavy = bad

While referring to physical symptoms, we also give expression to our psychological condition. When we feel that something is weighing us down and

[24] Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 15.
[25] Ramšak 2007.

have unpleasant physical or mental feelings as in great stress, we create metaphors deriving from these mental feelings of weight. Someone in trouble will slump the shoulders as if "carrying a heavy weight". After women are diagnosed with breast cancer, they will reify the disease, because they really feel as if something is weighing them down: "As a stone weighing on my heart." "Before surgery I wasn't afraid of anything, because the disease weighs you down anyway." When somebody suffers long and hard because of a disease and then dies, we say that the person has "freed herself/himself from the earthly weight". Contrary to heaviness, lightness means life, flexibility, relaxation, free movement, doing things effortlessly, physical and mental well-being, to enjoy a "feeling of lightness".

- light = good # dark = bad

Talking about a disease we often use metaphors referring to light and darkness. They are connected with our sight, which we highly trust, and also with the symbolism of light and darkness, the opposites of pure and joyful on the one hand, and sad and bad on the other hand. Light is a symbol of life and darkness is a symbol of death. The "bright moments of life", for instance, are the times when we are in good spirits and without a worry, "bright hopes" express an optimistic mood, we have "dark forebodings" when we think of something bad, negative, unfavourable. When everything "turns dark in front of our eyes" sickness prevents us from seeing well and we feel weak, and when bad news reaches us, our "brow darkens". Light improves our mood and we comfort ourselves with bright thoughts or use bright metaphors:

"I suddenly remembered a friend of long years like a bright ray of sunshine; she fell ill with breast cancer two years ago and continues to live a normal life. And I recalled another bright case, where the disease didn't end in death".

- sweet = good # bitter = bad

With this metaphor we indirectly think of our senses tasting food. If the food is sweet, it is pleasant and good, but if it is bitter, it is spoiled or poisonous. Instead of thinking of food we may think of other concepts that are good or bad for our body. "Sweet tiredness", for instance, is beneficial, pleasant tiredness; a "bitter experience" is one that includes mental pain because of a disappointment. "Bitter thoughts were passing through her head" refers to women when they are diagnosed with cancer and realise that their children will become orphans and theirs husbands widowers if they die. Bitterness is also connected with accepting one's different, disfigured body after surgery: "A new day has come and I now have a different body. There's something bitter in that awareness."

- future = front = good # past = behind = bad

With these metaphors we again think of human anatomy, the front- and back sides of the body. Take for instance the metaphor "she/he is always up front at work", meaning that somebody is quite successful, but when we say that "there's something else behind all this" it means that something, probably unpleasant, is hidden behind it. "I constantly had my family in front of my eyes", wrote a woman

who fell ill and wanted to make clear that she was constantly thinking of what would happen to her family, when she would no longer be there for them. Another woman, who was not able to talk about her disease, said: "I threw it over my shoulder", meaning that she stopped thinking of it and left it behind her, in the past.

- the metaphor of life is a journey, the goal its destination

To achieve most of our everyday goals we must either move to a certain place or acquire some object. If we want to recover from a disease we must move, make a journey towards health and take medicines. "I knew that the road to recovery would be long and hard." And when we do not reach the goal of recovery, "we complete our earthly journey".

- colourful = health = good # colourless = disease = bad

Colours and health are tightly connected. If someone goes "as white as a sheet", the person certainly is not feeling well, if she/he "turns green", she/he is very excited or something is corroding her/him; if someone is "glowing with happiness" it means that the person has a healthy skin and a reason to enjoy life. Someone can be "all black" with bruises, but if her/his skin is "pink", it is a pleasure to look at her/him, because the person is like a baby, at the start of life. When somebody's face turns grey, she/he is either ill or old or both. The colours describing illness and old age are washed out, faded colours: white, grey, ash-grey, mouldy green, grey-blue. The colours describing a healthy person radiate in red and pink, apricot-like warm shades.

- activity = good # passivity = bad

Being paralysed indicates fear and a temporary incapacity for sound reasoning. Women diagnosed with breast cancer usually "go numb and their head is empty" or they feel like "drowning". Others are not easily scared and even if they are excited their first thought is "I'm going to fight and beat this disease".

2.2. War metaphors in medicine

Medical metaphors referring to war have a very high frequency. The comparisons in them often use terms of war: attack, defence, destruction, victory, defeat, etc. These metaphors suggest that militant activity can be a virtue. The concept in which patients are doctors' "clinical material" on which they fight the battle against the disease, in which the patients are not in the centre of attention, and in which the disease is an object, not a process, is demonstrated in many forms[26].

At the time when understanding diseases concentrated on identifiable, visible microorganisms powerful military metaphors emerged, which used quite authentic and accurate symbolic of a disease. A disease was seen as an invasion of foreign organisms to which the body gave battle, for instance by mobilising its immune defence mechanisms, treatment turned aggressive, something that can also be said

[26] Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Hodgkin 1985: 291.

of chemotherapy. Gross metaphors survived in the health service, where a disease is usually described as an invasion, and the endeavours to reduce mortality as a fight, battle, or war. Martial metaphors became especially common in the early 20th century before the First World War, when people were instructed on syphilis, and after the war when they were introduced to typhus.

If in the past, doctors fought the battles with diseases and today the whole society fights against them. Mass ideological mobilisation used the concept of war as a metaphor in various educational efforts, because the goal was to beat the enemy. That is why we fought the "war on poverty", nowadays it is the war on drugs, on alcohol, or on individual diseases, including cancer. The battles against diseases are not just appeals for greater efforts or more funds for research. The metaphors show how diseases have become unwanted foreigners, "the others", like the enemy in contemporary wars. But they also show a shift from the demonization of the disease to attributing guilt to the patients, regardless of the fact that they are the victims. The concept of victim assumes innocence and innocence assumes the existence of guilt. Martial metaphors contribute to the stigmatisation of certain diseases and patients. In her two essays *Illness and Metaphor* and *Aids and Its Metaphors* Susan Sontag attempted to define martial metaphors in medical language. Based on her own experience with breast cancer she reflected on the aspects of metaphors expressing fear of death and indirectly accusing the patients[27].

To both physicians and patients war is a central metaphor. There are several reasons for this:

– the metaphor is ubiquitous in our society (the "wars" on drugs, alcohol, smoking, etc.);

– it is easily adaptable to cancer, because there is a seemingly perfect metaphoric correspondence: there is an enemy (the cancer), a commander (the physician), a combatant (the patient), allies (the healthcare team), and formidable weaponry (including chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons);

– metaphors of power and aggression serve as strong counterpoints to the powerlessness and passivity often associated with serious illness[28].

The women who participated in the anthropological research on breast cancer used many, often opposite metaphors when describing their experience with the disease. Many of them were orientational, many military, and many others derived from the experience they previously had with their healthy body. The military metaphors they used accompanied all the phases of treatment, and they were still strongly present after recovery.

> *Surgery will be in three weeks, the chemotherapy was even more a bitch than in the first round. Then I went through thirty radiation sessions. My exhausted body has not recovered yet from the previous therapy sessions. I was completely down. I then thought for the first time that I wouldn't make it and kind of started to plan my family's life after my death. I tried to*

[27] Sontag 1991: 94–95, 97.
[28] Hawkins 1999: 61–90.

talk to my husband, but he's a weakling and kept on whining and moaning, so all I could do was take up the fight again. The boys were already hardened, they knew that after the chemotherapy I'd lie in the dark for two days, vomiting all the time and drinking only water. My first really bad experience helped my older son, who five years ago had surgery of a benign tumour of the hypophysis, to fight the disease and he's still fighting_the problems following the removal of the hypophysis.

In this account several metaphors are used. Most of them are martial metaphors ("the chemotherapy was a bitch" = aggressive chemotherapy; "round" = duel; "exhausted body" = almost defeated body; "I won't make it" = I will not recover and I am going to die; "take up the fight again"; "hardened" = capable of suffering hardship and negative circumstances; "fight" = to use force and disable the enemy), while the bad feeling is indicated by the orientational metaphor of the up–down type = "I was completely down".

In the following case we see how military metaphors are used to explain the origin of a disease:

I thought of all those long nights when I cut down on sleeping and was sitting at the sewing machine until the early morning hours to sew new clothes for the kids. And I really made them, but the price was too high. My immune system was weakened, the many stress situations both at the job and in everyday life attacked the weakened cells of my body and threatened it.

A third case indicates that martial metaphors are means to gather the self-confidence and determination that are required to recover:

All I had left were defiance and stubbornness. I was aware that I could fight the enemy only if I knew it. What encouraged me was the fact that I knew my enemy. I knew where it was hidden in my body. And I declared relentless war on it.

The last example illustrates the view of a recovered woman who still uses martial metaphors, as if she is not fully convinced of her recovery:

After my experience with cancer I often felt like a winner and a loser at the same time. As a winner because I had defeated the disease, and as a loser because I hadn't listened to my inner voice screaming that something was wrong and I just kept on shutting it up. I didn't do anything, I didn't fight for myself.

As we see, patients themselves use metaphors to explain in lay terms either complex biological processes, and the aetiology of a disease, or to help them control the disease and the memories of it at the symbolical level. Lay aetiology explanations of a disease include biological as well as individual explanations and such that derive from the way of living.

2.3. Doctor's metaphors

In the therapeutic relationship the language of metaphors plays an important role in understanding the reality of the disease, and the metaphors the medical staff uses to explain the disease to the patient or even to themselves are very important. The fact that even professional medical terminology uses martial metaphors as a

matter of fact, e.g. "invasive methods of treatment", "invasion of disease cells into the body", "an invasive cancer", "infiltrated tissue", "defence mechanisms", "crippled immune system", various types of "attacks" or occurrences of certain disease symptoms, treatment, which "kills the cancer cells", and the like, show that we are indeed living in a hyper-martial culture.

To the patients it really matters when at a time, when they are most vulnerable and still hope for the best, the doctors tell them "You've got one of these fast cancers" or express themselves in a more positive way. It is true that physiological and anatomical diseases can be explained with metaphors, and it is even recommendable, if the doctor thinks that the patient will not understand medical explanations, but these comparisons should not endanger the patient's mental balance.

The essential difference between a patient's understanding of the disease and the medical understanding is that the patient interprets the disease through everyday experience, while the doctor places the body and its functioning in a scientific framework, which is much more abstract than the patient's experiences. In order for the doctor and patient to understand one another, they must use a similar choice of linguistic means and a vocabulary known to both[29]. The average patients will have difficulties in understanding terms referring to the disease, which are unknown to them, because doctors use excessively professional terms in their communication. The patient will not understand the information and be less motivated to ask questions.

The same is true of people who are interested in medicine in a lay way and read medical literature, because they want to know about new discoveries. The significance of making the general public aware of medical achievements is equally important as the discoveries themselves and "translating" scientific medical language into a language most people understand is of vital importance. To this purpose communication gaps must be eliminated and the causes for them must be established. Although the "translation" from scientific into ordinary language has its limits, medical explanations should be as close as possible to the patients' understanding of the disease, and doctors should have more consideration for the fears, hopes, and beliefs of their patients. Appropriate metaphors can be a great help. Medical metaphors are not just linguistic ornaments, but tools of understanding.

Research has shown that patients use many technical metaphors in order to understand their diseases. In heart diseases, for instance, the metaphor for the heart is a pump, for the brains a computer, the body is a machine that can be repaired, fixed, etc. These mechanical explanations are occasionally complemented by religious ideas about punishment, spirits, the patient's own expectations, and of course knowledge. To distract patients from their own semantic structures will

[29] Mabeck and Olesen 1997: 271–272.

confuse them and increase the communication gap. The further the medical explanation is from the patient's experiences, value system, cultural background, typical features of the disease and the prognosis, the smaller the possibility that the patient will correctly understand the disease and its treatment[30].

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the doctors play a decisive role when they are faced with invalid, but useful metaphors. These exclude other ways of seeing health and illness and create subtle forms of social pressure, distorting the issue[31]. Uncontrolled metaphors or such that have been around for a long time often stigmatise patients or even a disease itself.

Some Slovene oncologists use metaphors in their communication with the patients, which are familiar to them. They tell the patients: "Nothing will ever be the same again", that they will not be the same persons as they were before the disease and that they will never again be without any trouble at all. Another frequently used metaphor is that of "weed", which helps the patient to understand complementary and radiation therapy. You can pull out or cut down weed, but it will probably grow again. After surgery tiny, invisible seeds of the disease may remain in the body, close to the cancer or further away from it, and this requires radiation to reduce the danger that the disease recurs. A similar metaphor is that of "mouldy bread". If you cut off the mouldy part of a loaf of bread, you hope in vain that the mould will not spread. When the patients' blood count is such that radiation therapy is not possible, the doctors will tell them, that the "traffic light is red at the moment". When it will turn green again, that is, when the blood count improves, treatment will be safer. And last but not least, doctors use metaphors about "parasites". People indeed increasingly believe healers, people with inadequate professional education, telling them that a cancer has to be starved to death. But cancer is a parasite and in spite of the patient's starving will get what it needs and the patient's body will deteriorate further without healthy food[32].

In addition to linguistic obstacles and misunderstandings between patients and doctors, there are other factors which seriously threaten their communication: lack of time, doctors convinced that it is not good for patients to know too much about the diagnosis and treatment, and stereotypes on good and difficult patients, that is patients who will do everything they are told without asking anything, and patients who demand information on their disease, as if they are questioning the doctor's authority[33]. Because the clinic and hospital environment is highly formalised and high-tech, because patients fear the consequences of their disease, because doctors use a too complex language, patients tend to be rather passive in their relationship with the doctor, forget information they were given or fail to understand it correctly. Doctors oncologists seem to be well aware of these

[30] Mabeck and Olesen 1997: 273–278.
[31] Hodgkin 1985: 1821.
[32] Zwitter 2005: 74–75.
[33] Ule 2003: 180.

problems: recent Slovene popular science publications on breast cancer and information websites about the disease contain good examples of questions and the most common errors and facts about the disease[34].

Oncologists writing in professional publications often stress that appropriate communication with cancer patients should be given more attention, because it actually means being kind and leads to better cooperation with the patient, more effective treatment, reduces the number of complaints and court actions, generates savings, and saves the patient and society from useless, expensive, or even harmful treatment[35]. The authors also primarily refer to communication problems and social pressures. Some terms with different meanings used by doctors, e.g. tumour or lymph node, are often interpreted in the worst possible way by patients or their family members. Family members often request that doctors do not tell the patients their real condition or even the correct diagnosis of their disease, because they has threatened to commit suicide if they ever get cancer or will be incurably ill. Although the patient has the right to full information on their disease and the doctors are obliged to tell them the information in an understandable form and to make sure that the given information is really understood[36], some people think that this is not possible in some cases. For instance with people with a limited ability of perceiving the world around them and others who intentionally ignored the symptoms of disease so that the cancer has spread so far that it severely limits the patient's autonomy, with old and infirm people, chronic alcoholics, loners, etc. When an incurable cancer is established in such a patient, and if the professional decision of the doctors is that only supportive and symptomatic treatment is adequate, the doctors may decide not to reveal the disease to the patient. Most cancer patients however do not belong to any of these groups, and most of them are told that they have cancer[37].

In their answers, many women in the research initially described the attitude of the medical staff in principle as appropriate or excellent, but in the answers that followed many of them actually refuted these statements with concrete examples from their own stories. They referred to events in clinics and hospitals which revealed that the seemingly nice and obliging attitude of the medical staff was often devoid of empathic attention or an attitude fraught with different forms of alienation; according to the respondents, these attitudes were responsible for professional mistakes in the treatment. The essence of what they wrote is that the communication difficulties were not so much down to verbal misunderstandings (e.g. misunderstanding statements which were torn out of context or misunderstanding professional or idiomatically used medical terms), but the lack of empathy from the medical staff. They also considered that in most cases this was

[34] E.g. Borštnar et al. 2006.
[35] Zwitter 2005: 73.
[36] Debevec 2002: 25–26.
[37] Zwitter 2005: 74.

not the doctor's personal failure, but the failure of a system that forces doctors to occupy themselves more with organisation and administration than with their patients.

2.4. Myths and misconceptions about cancer

To stigmatise someone means to blemish, negatively judge someone in a social group. Stigmas are attributed to an individual based on deformations of the body, the character, affiliation to an ethnic or racial group, or even on the fact that the person speaks out for a stigmatised group. Stigmatisation based on the first two factors particularly involves patients with mental or chronic diseases and people who are in the last phase of a disease. The stigma erases the integrity of the individual and the aspects of the identity, which are beyond the disease[38].

Particularly in the Slovene countryside and among ordinary people cancer is often met with irrational abhorrence. Cancer is seen as a disease that affects physically defeated, suppressed people, people who are not capable of expressing themselves, and especially people who suppress anger or sexual needs. Cancer as the ultimate failure of self-expression is a prejudice still maintained by many patients and their families. To get cancer is still seen as having a weak will or a personal defect. Cancer is a synonym for people who do not know how to live or make no effort to live a healthy life. Gullet cancer, for instance, is the fault of the alcoholic, lung cancer the fault of the smoker, colon cancer the fault of people who eat too much animal fats, skin cancer is the punishment for excessive sunbathing and self-indulgence. Unhealthy habits associated with cancer result from character weaknesses, a lack of prudence, or indulgence in legal drugs.

Popular reasoning goes even further when breast cancer is involved. The cancer is not only the result of inappropriate food or inactivity, but also a punishment for loose family morals or the incapacity to express one's own wishes and needs. In people's behaviour, agreement with these prejudices is often accompanied by an acquired helplessness, which is essentially a response to unfavourable circumstances without having any other choice.

Because of these prejudices, people fear cancer more than any other chronic disease and wrongly believe that cancer is the least curable disease, that it is equal to certain death, although nowadays more than half the patients recover from cancer. People without any real knowledge of cancer as much as bury a cancer patient, become patronising, avoid the patient because they do not know how to behave in order not to add insult to injury. Such ideas about cancer derive from the fear of the disease, and from the fact that for a long time almost nothing was known about its origin and how it could be treated with success. It is not unusual then and not for the first time in the history of social ideas about diseases that various myths are woven around cancer, trying to explain the disease in terms of

[38] White 2006: 49–50, 123, 203–205.

guilt and sin, attributed to the diseased person. By putting the blame on the patient we get a false feeling of safety, thinking that we can prevent events that are beyond our control, and console ourselves by thinking "This can't happen to me". We try to make sense of a disease, which makes no sense at all.

Myths about cancer most often appear in a way that attributes the disease to a hard childhood, a negative attitude to the world, which accelerated the cancer, or the person's own wish to fall ill. Mothers will tell their children: "You're driving me so crazy that I will certainly get cancer." In deteriorated partner relationships such criticism is often a form of extortion or an expression of helplessness. Such ideas are certainly harmful, in particular to very sensitive people, because they make it impossible for them to find other psychological relief. These ideas on the causes of cancer have no scientific basis whatsoever, but they can have serious consequences, and must therefore be at least weakened, if not eliminated. They may prevent people from seeking help fast enough or to be given proper treatment. Metaphors and myths do kill. Cancer is just a disease and a very serious one, but nothing more than a disease. It is not a doom, punishment, disgrace, nor necessarily a death sentence, even though it often ends in death; we cannot call cancer upon ourselves and we cannot "attract" the disease just by "wishing" so. All these are sheer mystifications of cancer. To contract cancer does not mean to be stigmatised and does not mean to be a bad person.

2.5. Fired for having cancer

In spite of all the above mentioned, various forms of discrimination based on cancer are unfortunately common and they are indicative of an increasingly neo-liberal ideology, where everybody cares only for herself/himself and is worth only as much as she/he is economically successful. What we see in Slovenia is the fear and prejudices of some employers, who do not want to hire job seekers who had cancer in their childhood or later. They often think that cancer is incurable or do not believe that the former patient is really cured and fear frequent absence from work. And there are indeed employers who fire workers because of breast cancer.

Cancer is an expensive disease to employers and they do not wish to contribute anything; to them the diseased person is just the sum of the diseases and a financial burden. How often this occurs, we do not know, because losing one's job because of cancer means a double stigma, to be marginalized twice, to be incapable or unsuccessful in two ways, and people with cancer can be fired under any pretext and perfectly legally. Employers who wish to do so can circumvent the law or only use those provisions of the law that are in their favour; and the employees usually do not know where to turn to for help, if they have any energy left to prove their rights.

Women who had breast cancer and return to their working environment often fear that their co-workers will treat them differently, that their superiors will deny them promotion or fire them. The Society of Oncological Patients of Slovenia

advises people to consult their physician when trying to solve such problems, to appeal to the disability commission if their working capacity is seriously reduced, and inform themselves on similar experiences by other women in self-help groups[39].

At present we have no complete evidence in Slovenia how many women who recovered from breast cancer returned to their job and which factors influenced the return. In any case, returning to one's job and keeping it is an important factor, not only in the sense of the financial independence of women, but also in augmenting their self-confidence and reducing social isolation. Every year one thousand women contract breast cancer for the first time in Slovenia. Approximately half contract the disease in their working life, when they are between 20 and 59 years old, and this means that every 150th Slovene woman contracts the disease in this period. Most women:

– had sick leave which lasted on average nine months,

– around three thirds appealed to the disability commission to evaluate their working capacity in their working life, and

– only a small part retired because of breast cancer in their working life.

The duration of sick leave for breast cancer is influenced by the protracted procedures of the disability commission and the poor knowledge of the workplace of the experts in the commission; they lay down unreasonable limitations, causing workers to become unemployable at their former jobs. The inclusion of an authorised physician in the work of the disability commission would improve this problem to some extent. 80% of the women who contracted breast cancer in their working life returned to their jobs after treatment; this proves that the diagnosis did not have a major effect on their employability. The great majority of the women who were evaluated by the disability commission were aged between 40 and 50, and presumably were production workers with low qualifications and low work motivation, whose work consisted of repetitive movements of the upper limbs[40]. In spite of the fact that Slovene researches covering 1992, 1995 and 1998 showed that women with the lowest level of education have a higher mortality rate in some diseases, that in the population aged 25 to 64 most of the people who died have not completed primary school, and that a higher level of education seems to be an important protective factor, all this is not true in reference to breast cancer. More women with a higher education and higher income die of breast cancer, while women with an incomplete primary school education die more frequently of cardiac and vascular diseases. A similar trend is true of married people or people living in a regular partnership, which are important protective factors for their health. However, when considering cancer neoplasms, more married women with a university education die than on average; here a multiplication principle seems at

[39] Vegelj-Pirc 2000: 26–27.

[40] Kovačič 2006: 32–69.

work: women with several social roles and higher stress die more often of cancer. Single men and women have a lower mortality rate caused by neoplasms[41].

2.6. Euphemisms and metaphors in Slovene death notices

Death is often explained with euphemisms and metaphors. Through these the social reality is purified and transformed to a degree that unknown facts like death are glossed over. Certain euphemisms and metaphors concerning death are particularly common in society's powerful social institutions that are responsible for supervising death (e.g. the army, medicine, politics). Metaphors and euphemism which people use in reference to dying and death tell us a lot about how they perceive death, how they soften its appearance ("She/he closed her/his eyes for the last time") or enhance the meaning of the deceased's life ("She/he will live with us forever"). The amount of words used is not insignificant. "Died" is the simplest way of describing the phenomenon about which the living has no direct knowledge. From this simple statement onwards more or less sophisticated phrases are used, hiding the unpleasant aspects of mortality or acknowledging the superior power of death.

References to the cause of death are extremely rare in death notices. Because cancer is still a synonym for death and equated with evil, patients and their families go through the disease with a feeling of shame, something that has to be concealed, something unjust and almost perfidious. "Why me?" people ask, embittered. Although the word cancer is nowadays used more freely, death notices continue to state that the deceased "passed away after a serious/long illness", "departed after a long/serious illness", or passed away "after a long battle with a serious illness". These phrases are most frequent in the death notices in Slovene newspapers and although the actual cause of death is not mentioned, we may assume that the long or serious illness was indeed cancer which defeated its weaker opponent.

If we understand the function of metaphorical expressions, they become an inevitable tool in medicine too. Metaphors reveal phenomena, which would otherwise remain unknown to us. Using metaphors we reveal and simultaneously conceal, and as is obvious from the quoted examples, we do it without any visible effort. If we know how to read the medical metaphors, we can establish why they may no longer be appropriate. And this would help us to find suitable alternative metaphors, which would help patients to a faster and better recovery, because changes in mentality influence bodily changes and vice versa. The body and mind are connected and are only different expressions of the same whole. Cancer is nowadays met as less phobic, less obfuscation than decades ago and is no longer the disease we should fear most. Nevertheless, systematic information on the meaning of symbolical expressions in the process of treatment, visualisations, and the autogenic metaphors, which spontaneously come to the mind of patients and help them cope with the disease, would make it easier for society to free itself from the hold of stereotype ideas about the disease like guilt and stigma.

[41] Artnik 2005: 75–76.

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MUSICAL-INCANTATIONAL VALUES OF "MEANINGLESS SPEECH" WHILE SHOEING: A CASE STUDY*

NICOLAE TEODOREANU

ABSTRACT

During a fieldwork campaign conducted in Roşia Montana, as part part of a research team, I had the opportunity to witness the ox shoeing process which allowed us to observe some surprising aspects of this technique. The blacksmith – helped by the ox owners – uses apart from the direct commands meant to fulfill the concrete operations of the shoeing process, another type of language, seemingly meaningless, consisting in several onomatopoeic formulae, affectionate names addressed to those attending the work, and also a set of nonsensical words. The reason for these formulae could be the intention to release the tension of hard work, to spend the time and, last but not least, to calm down the animal. Listening to these consecutively uttered phrases that make use of numerous repetitions and unpredictable shifts one can hear a kind of unintentional hypnotic "music" as if belonging to an incantational primitive dance. The musicological analysis of the relationship between these different types of verbal structures allows us to grasp several mechanisms of this type of secondary language.

Keywords: ox shoeing, phatic communication, unintentional music, soothing function, musical articulation.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

This paper represents an aspect of the ethnological and folklore research on the oral, immaterial elements of blacksmithing, conducted by a research team of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore[1]. In the summer of 2011 we had the opportunity to watch an ox being shod in the village Ţarina, Roşia Montană. Our witnessing the whole process led us to some ethnographic remarks regarding the working techniques but also regarding some anthropological aspects,

* This study includes some results of an ethno-folkloric acoustic research, carried out within a CNCSIS project, program ideas, exploratory research, "Men and irons. The real and imaginary portrait of the blacksmith in the Romanian society, from pre-industrial era to consumption society" code Id_1183

[1] Jiga Iliescu, Laura, *Cuvânt înainte* (*Foreword*), in Jiga Iliescu–Teodoreanu–Bercovici 2011: 6–7.

such as the relationships between the blacksmith and the owners of the animal and between man and animal.

A blacksmith's work entails some stereotypical gestures while doing somehow "dreary" yet complex tasks. The idea of recording this phenomenon with multimedia systems proved to be very useful for approaching this side of *orality* which doubles a manufacturer's work. This is certainly not a traditional folklore inquiry, as it is not about any of the categories usually included in folklore, e.g. music, dance, folk texts, but about some aspects of the interaction between the participants – people and animals – which mirror a speechless communication belonging to the oral culture mechanisms. We do not know whether our remarks are generally relevant for shoeing but it is certain that they are elements of a certain type of folkloric mentality conditioned by this trade. Needless to say that ox shoeing is an endangered craft in a world dominated by technology and globalization and especially in an area such as Roşia Montană whose future depends on political decisions regarding the devastating and irreversible future chemical exploitation of its gold ores.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The present study is based on an intuitive thought of the researchers witnessing the shoeing: this process which lasted an hour and 15 minutes was a kind of *consecrating* that space and time, in Mircea Eliade's terms[2], but not from a sacred perspective but from a profane one, as if defining a special territory out of the mundane world. In this area the blacksmith Constantin Boia was shaping this collective experience both through practicing the craft but also through the sounds and words he was uttering. It was similar to a trance state, a psychological collective anaesthesia induced by deep concentration marked by ceaseless speaking sometimes technically necessary but sometimes useless. It was a quasi-hypnotic state in which the redundant *meaningless speech* became a sort of involuntary music with incantational values. At the end of this experience, the "waking up" was somehow sudden, everybody relaxed and people seemed to return to their "ordinary life". This study intends to use the means of philological and musical analysis in order to clarify our first intuition.

We start from the fact that the text offers very few elements for a philological analysis as it does not follow any of the rules of folk poetry or prose. The speaking part consists of working orders (23.8%) and of "meaningless speech" (about 76.2%), namely sentences with no concrete communicational purpose. However, because of its redundant character the text can be analysed from a musical perspective at the level of sentences and phrases utterance.

[2] Eliade 1992.

ANALYSIS

Without doubt the text recorded during shoeing is neither compact nor meant to be music. Nonetheless, music psychology proves that one can find in spoken language some musical elements, in terms of rhythm or melody, as shown in the work of musicologist and psychologist Ghizela Sulițeanu[3]. The new element of our study is the level of analysis which is no longer the acoustic "parameters" – *duration* or *pitch* – but time structure (an area much "slower" than the rest[4]), the level of *musical articulation*, influenced by repetitions and contrasts. Such approach definitely has an *experimental* characteristic.

We are going to use for our further analysis audio and video recordings of shoeing. The sonorous background of our conversation consists of different natural noises: bird chirping, insect buzzing, wind blowing, which are hardly noticeable. The text is doubled by shoeing noises made by hammering or by picking up and dropping tools. A mobile phone rings at a certain moment of the recording. Eliminating all these sounds we get the transcript of the text[5] stored in the Institute's Archive. Then, we perform a further reduction which eliminates the imperative structures used for direct orders (as well as the words of the other participants), of *informative-communicative* type, such as: "Lift it a bit. Stop there. Hold it like this! Leave it. That's it, Ion. Take this, Micuțule (*Little Guy*), hold it well." There are three distinct types of structures more or less stereotypical, uttered many times in different forms and contexts:

Onomatopoeic formulae. These are addressed to and aim at calming the animal. For example: "Whoap! Whoa, mum, whoaaaa! Whoa, mum, whoap!"

Affectionate names. These are addressed to the people present, especially to the owners of the animals who help the blacksmith. For example: "My dear. Little Guy, mum. My dearest dear!"

More complex formulae. They are also addressed to the people present, being somehow similar to the imperative ones but lacking concrete meaning. For example: "And do your job properly. Ionică, my son. Understood? If not, you'll be in big trouble, if you don't obey. Ioane, dear, you'll be in trouble. I'll beat you up!"

There is a fourth category of structures which appear only few times.

- D. *Musical formulae.* The blacksmith starts especially from affectionate names (B) and goes on to whistle which turns into humming or even singing. This type of structure does not have the clarity of a complete tune but it definitely is consciously sung. These structures are in fact adjustments of the "meaningless speech" to fit a well-known tune.
- The table below shows how the four types of structures are performed in the first quarter of the text. The formulae A, B, C and D are presented

[3] Sulițeanu 1980: 115–154.
[4] See also Teodoreanu 2010: 230–231
[5] A.I.E.F., WS750011, transcribed by Monica Beatrice Bercovici.

synoptically in the columns. The columns show the variants and the rows show their temporal relations:

A	B	C	D
Whoa, mum, whoap, whoap!	My dear all, my dear!	Look after him, Ion! Make sure it doesn't move!	
	My dearest dear! Oh, mum! Oop!		
	My dear all!		[whistling]
	My dearest dear!		
Whoap, whoap, whoap, mum [...], whoap!	My little one. My dear one. My dear.		
Whoaap, whoap, whoap, whoap, whoap! whoap, mum, whoaap!	My dear all, my dear!		[hissing]
	My dear all, my dear!!		
Whoap, whoap! [...] Whoap, mum, hoap, whoap, whoap, whoap, whoap!		And do your job properly. Ionică, my son. Understood? If not, you'll be in big trouble, if you don't obey. Ioane, dear, you'll be in trouble.	
Whoap, mum, whoaap! Whoap, mum, whoaap!		I'll beat you up!	
	That's it, my dear!	Sit there, Ioane. Don't be afraid. We'll finish right away.	
Whii, whiip! Whee, mum, whiip!	Our dearest, Ionică. My little one. My dearest dear. Ioi, my dearest all, My dear.	Cheer up, Little Guy, cheer up, my dear.	
Whoa, whoaap! Whoa, whoaap!	My little one. My dear little one. My dear. My little, mum. My dearest dear.	Should work hard, Ioane! Little guy.	

Summarizing the type of formal articulation and not considering the variations of the formulae, we have come up with the following structure for the whole recording (the underscores represent the "interludes" corresponding to the informative-communicative parts which we have eliminated):

_AB_CCBABDBAB__B_B_ABDB_A_CCA__C_B_CAB_B_B___B____B _C_A_BB__B_B_BCAB_CB_CB_BABACB___CBCB_BAC_AB_ABCABCAC BC_C_CCBCBBACACBC__CB_BC_BC__ABBCBDDBC_BC_C_B_BABCBDC.

The resulting form, based on the unpredictable sequence of these 4 elements, reminds us of the "variation" form encountered by C. Brăiloiu in the mourning songs

performed in Oaş, which have the character of "an improvised melopoeia, with no definite architecture" [6]. It corresponds to a free *indeterminate* musical form which proves the structural-musical inventiveness starting from a limited musical material.

From the distribution point of view, one can notice that element A is quite present at the beginning but it is almost abandoned towards the end where it is replaced by elements B and C. Element C is more and more spread towards the middle of the text, then it becomes more scarce. Therefore, the onomatopoeic formulae used to calm down the animal at the beginning are gradually replaced by more complex structures, probably when the tranquillity is restored and it only needs to be maintained. Element D seldom appears at the beginning but is often used at the end.

The table below offers a statistical approach to the frequency of the 4 elements, considering their occurrences and the number of characters:

Formulae	A	B	C	D	Total
No. of occurrences	19	49	34	5	107
%	18	46	32	5	100
No. of characters	448	1741	1840		4029
%	11	43	46		100

Relations	AB	AC	BA	BC	BD	CA	CB	DB	DC	Total
No. of occurrences	13	7	10	19	4	10	16	3	1	83
%	16	8	12	23	5	12	19	4	1	100

One can notice the massive presence of structures B and C, B is superior to C as number of occurrences (46% to 32%) but slightly inferior to C as number of characters (43% to 46%). The explanation for the difference between the number of occurrences and the number of characters lies in the fact that C structures (more complex speech) appear more seldom but are longer than B structures (the affectionate ones). The onomatopoeic formulae A rank third (18% and 11%) and the musical formulae which could not be approached from the number of characters point of view rank last. The blacksmith's speech is supported by B structures, the affectionate ones and on more elaborate C structures. The musical formulae appear sporadically, being very rarely used.

The table also shows the relations between the formulae. The most frequent are BC (23%) and CB (19%), meaning passing from affectionate names to the discursive complex ones and back. The D structures (which are sometimes repeated) is always preceded by a B structure (5%) and followed by either a B (4%) or a C one (1%). In other words, the sung, hummed or whistled structures are derived from the affectionate ones and, with only one exception, return back to them.

[6] Brăiloiu 1981: 199.

INTERPRETATION

If we talk about a transfer from an uttered text to music, this fact is based on the similarities between a redundant speech and musical language, considered syntactically and non-semantically[7]. This type of redundant verbal discourse, with musical structural values belongs to what Roman Jakobson called *phatic communication* conveying minimum, conventional information aiming at maintaining and consolidating the relationships between people. In this regard, John Fiske wrote: "Saying 'Hello' in the street is sending a highly redundant message. But there are no communication problems to solve. [...] I am engaging in what Jakobson (see below) calls phatic communication. By this, he refers to acts of communication that contain nothing new, no information, but that use existing channels simply to keep them open and usable. In fact, of course, there is more to it than that. What I am doing in saying 'Hello' is maintaining and strengthening an existing relationship. Relationships can only exist through constant communication".[8]

Therefore, it is a non-informative form of communication between performers and between them and the animal itself. Within this context the fact that *something is said* is more important than *what is said*. The sonorous fluid flows and the uttered words could be replaced by others, without changing the meaning.

Trying to find out the reasons for it, we notice the following aspects:

A blacksmith's work is simple and monotonous, it does not require exchange of complex information and is long and boring, thus time seems to pass faster when they talk.

There is a certain pressure on both people and the animal. The latter is scared while the former are careful and tensed because they are trying not to go wrong. This tension is diminished by ceaseless talking.

There are several people witnessing a blacksmith shoeing: the owners of the animal, an apprentice who helps with the animal or hands out the right tool. The blacksmith has to maintain a certain communication relationship with all these people.

These three aspects are confirmed by the blacksmith in the following dialogue recorded right after shoeing:

"I enjoy talking, 'cause time passes faster and more easily. You can't just stay there, like a fool and not talk to each other. [...] I speak with them too. [they all laugh] I can make them talk. [he laughs] There are some [people] who don't talk very much, they speak only if you ask them things. But I don't like just sitting there. It's easier this way, time passes and we can't even tell when, faster. [...] And the animal will be more patient if we talk, it will listen and it's not afraid. If we don't say a word, it moves and thrashes about, it jumps and ... Did you notice that I kept shouting to it [...]. If you don't say anything to it, it doesn't understand what's there and it feels lonely and sad"[9].

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[7] Eco 1982: 23.

[8] Fiske 1990: 14.

[9] A.I.E.F., WS750012, transcribed by Monica Beatrice Bercovici.

After a first analysis one can notice that the hypnotic aspect is given by the circular, repetitive musical structural articulation, which follows an indefinite sequence of elements and their variation, the latter aspect being responsible for the fluidity of the discourse. Everything is articulated in a certain slow rhythmic cadence which alternates the percussion sounds of the hammer with composed talking or singing and with pauses. The work is done collectively, attentively, the external factors not being able to disturb it: the mobile phone or our arrival there while they were working. The blacksmith noticed us long after we had arrived, after half an hour: "He, he, he, he, he, he! May you be struck with good luck! I didn't think that... I thought you wouldn't come! My dearest dear!"

At a closer look one can see that this state of collective anaesthesia is not at all accidental but deliberate. Just like in the case of the lullabies whose determining function is to make children sleep[10], ceaseless and meaningless talk has here a certain soothing function for both the people and the animal. Therefore, the uttered speech is only apparently addressed to human consciousness and rationality, in fact it targets the human subconsciousness and the animal's psychic. It could also be a certain form of ritualizing the work, not a sacred one but a psychological one, which controls the gestures, and the speaking rhythm and tone.

Although we did not have the opportunity to check these facts with other blacksmiths, we do believe that this is a "traditional" oral socialising practice, which doubles a traditional craft. We can easily imagine that together with blacksmithing will also disappear this type of traditional informal social behaviour, part of a mentality type which is precious but not easily noticeable.

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[10] Sulițeanu 1986: 13–14.

CONSERVATION OF MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR IMMATERIAL HERITAGE

ROXANA RĂDVAN, MONICA SIMILEANU

ABSTRACT

The present paper reports preliminary results generated by a trans-disciplinary research concerning a modern multimedia archive design. The simple conservation norms' implementation is mandatory, yet, this is not an easy work and there will never be sufficient efforts made. Despite the knowledge of so many physical and chemical mechanisms of degradation, of the validated protocols for deposits' management, the current case study is complex because of the significant number of mixed media. The project's originality is coming from the trans-disciplinary approach that involved long term environmental control, decontamination, objects' investigation for individual evaluation of the conservation status, digitization, new storage conditions, and constant monitoring of conservation conditions. If many conservation norms are known and applied – but are exclusively in restorers/'conservators'/archivists' responsibility – the new investigation facilities highlight information that must be studied and interpreted by historians, ethnographers, folklorists. This multiannual research project is based on the usage of special portable and/or transportable technical equipments, which we consider highly recommendable in respect to any heritage collection.

Keywords: immaterial heritage, archive, conservation, digitization.

INTRODUCTION

The present work is reporting a running project's intermediary results. The major project's objective is to organize and implement in the Romanian Academy's "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore a new form of a modern archive, which will conform to a strict risk assessment plan, in order to assure the collection's viability and increase its visibility[1]. At a first glance, in some aspects, it seems to be a routine work, with not enough impact on specific ethnographic or folklore research. By error, it could be considered just a "cleaning" intervention or an inventory work. Unfortunately, the conservation work is simply seen as a collection of analyses, measurements and microclimate conditions that could influence the best environment design into certain deposits. Of course, this is a significant part of the

[1] Ene–Radvan 2010.

work, but the intelligent interpretation of data delivers hidden information and could influence the implemented solutions. The innovative contribution of this trans-disciplinary research consists in association of the research means for multitask information extraction and polyvalent interpretation[2].

A scientific approach on such a topic rises up a very difficult issue because of the very diverse collection of materials present into a multimedia deposit. The number of stored materials, the ages of different materials, also the particular casuistry relating the degradation mechanism make the investigators' and conservators' work more complex. This deposit is mainly composed of oral folk recordings on paper, wax cylinders and magnetic band films, made by great Romanian researchers, recognized worldwide, such as Constantin Brăiloiu and Harry Brauner, to mention just a few[3].

Predicted situations in deposits' evaluation have been well estimated and proved solvable; several intermediary conclusions generated this report. The poor exchange of information between categories of professionals dealing with the collected objects is directly reflected in the reduced efficiency of conservators' or ethnographers' work.

Accordingly to the accepted norms and guidelines[4], in concordance with reported good practice cases[5], the main attention is spent on:

- microclimate and air quality control for storerooms;
- decontamination and protocols against biocontamination;
- material analysis investigation and evaluation of conservation status;
- multipurpose digitization program, including investigations' results and possible interventions (decontamination, consolidation, cleaning, storage condition).

RISK FACTORS IDENTIFICATION FOR SAFE-STRUCTURE OF THE DEPOSITS

The risk assessment includes the identification of all possible undesired effects resulting from any unfortunate course of action, followed by the estimation of the probability that a given undesired effect will occur, as well as of the loss of value it would lead to. Because the magnitude of risk closely depends on the condition of a particular object, the risk assessment of the entire collection will be preceded by dividing the collection into groups of objects having similar substrates: paper, wax, magnetic tape.

In order to assess the risk factors, 10 agents of deterioration were discussed (physical forces, thieves and vandals, dissociation, fire, water, pests, pollutants,

[2] Striber–Radvan–Angheluta 2009.
[3] Ispas 2003.
[4] Camuffo 1991.
[5] Moldovan–Puscas 2013.

light [UV and IR], incorrect temperature, incorrect relative humidity), considering the frequency and severity of the types of risk at the location (constant, sporadic, rare / catastrophic, severe, gradual).

Conservation conditions limits for RH, T and gaseous contaminants

Some of the most important factors that must be controlled are light exposure, humidity, temperature, and air quality. Temperature and relative humidity control is critical in the preservation of archival collections: heat accelerates deterioration – the rate of most chemical reactions is approximately doubled with each 10°C temperature increase. High relative humidity provides the moisture necessary for harmful chemical reactions in materials, and, in combination with high temperature encourages mold growth and insect activity. Extremely low relative humidity, which can occur in winter in heated buildings, may lead to desiccation and embrittlement of some materials. Fluctuations in temperature and relative humidity are also damaging.

Although the T and RH correct values are still disputed, the general recommendation is for a constant temperature no higher than 21°C and a chosen constant value of relative humidity (from 30% to 50%). Research indicates that relative humidity at the lower end of this range is preferable, since deterioration then progresses at a slower rate. In general, the lower the temperature, the better. However, the temperature for areas used exclusively as closed storages should be much lower than for the ones accessed by people.

Pollutants contribute heavily to the deterioration of library and all sorts of archival materials. The two major types of pollutants are gases and particles. Air quality control is difficult and complex and depends upon several inter-related factors. Various standards for air quality have been suggested (see table below[6]). However, until more experience is gained, the most reasonable recommendation is that the amount of pollutants in the air be reduced as much as possible.

Contaminants	Objects/Materials	Recommended exposure values	Source
Sulphur dioxide (outdoor)	Paper-based records Leather book bindings Paper-based records General museum interiors	0 ppb < 0.1 ppb < 0.4 ppb < 4 ppb	British Museum Libraries Epidemiological study, US National Bureau of Standards G. Thomson, The Museum Environment
Nitrogen dioxide (mainly outdoor)	Paper-based records Paper-based records General museum interiors	0 ppb < 2.5 ppb < 5 ppb	
Ozone (mainly outdoor)	General museum interiors Paper-based records	0 ppb < 13ppb	
Airborne particles PM_{10} (indoor & outdoor)	General museum interiors	< 70 g/m^3	US National Bureau of Standards

[6] Cassar 2011.

The contaminants on archive materials are numerous, the most aggressive ones are:

- *Sulphur dioxide* (SO_2), appears mostly due to the external environment (the location of the archive); there are few indoor sources today, but commonly coal, oil or gas burning (particularly gas lightening) in the past. The damaging effects of this type of contaminant are manifested by the embrittlement and paper discoloration, metal accessories and substrates tarnishing, and attacks on the photographic materials.
- *Nitrogen dioxide* (NO_2) contamination can also be induced by the external environment, by the use of any gas appliances (heating) in the premises (aspects that are formally restricted in an archive facility nowadays); however, the most acute factor is the cellulose nitrate decomposition. The NO_2 will induce dye fading, degradation of photographic materials, and paper objects severe damage.
- *Ozone* (O_3) contamination can be brought in by electrostatic particles, photocopiers, laser printers, insects, and archive's external environment.
- *Hydrogen sulphide* (H_2S) contamination takes place due to inappropriate construction and decorative materials, external environment of the archive and – most important – due to human bio-effluents. The damaging effects of this contaminant focus mainly on the metal substrates (especially silver), but we must take into consideration the metals present in inks, and photographic media, and various accessories.
- Particles contamination can occur due to abrasion, pollen, combustion, candles, biodeterioration, plaster surfaces, insects, carpets, salts from the external environment etc. The effects induced consist in soling, discoloration, deposition (acidic particles, alkaline particles).

There are several additional ways to control air quality. One is the provision of clean air exchange in areas where collections are stored or used, with replacement of as pure as possible air. Care should be taken to insure that air intake vents are not located near sources of heavy pollution. Another measure is keeping exterior windows closed. Another measure is the storing of library and archival materials in archival-quality boxes, dossiers, envelopes, etc., which help decrease the pollutants' effects. Newly available materials, made of molecular traps such as activated carbon or zeolites, capture pollutants and appear to be particularly effective in this regard. Finally, pollution sources should be eliminated as much as possible.

Oxygen reduction and pest control

In 1998, the European Union financed a project called "SAVE ART". Its purpose was to control pests by reducing the oxygen concentration of the environment through the use of an electromechanical nitrogen generator (the VELOXY [VEry Low OXYgen] system). Real scale validations of the VELOXY

system were performed at the National Marciana Library (Venice, Italy), El Prado Museum and Centro de la Restauracion del Mueble (Madrid, Spain), the Swedish Museum of Natural History (Stockholm, Sweden), and the National Museum of Wales (Cardiff, UK). The real-scale tests showed promising results. Since the project's inception, numerous VELOXY systems have been assembled and are now operative at a lot of museums, libraries and archives from all over the world.

Oxygen reduction is increasingly regarded as a recommendable alternative to insecticides and pesticides, which are harmful to human health (cancer hazard), pollute the indoor environment, and may even produce reactions against the collection objects. The treatment consists in placing the items, for three weeks, in sealed envelopes made with a gas barrier plastic film in which oxygen (present in the air to 20.95%) is replaced with inert gases: nitrogen, argon or helium.

The method is quite simple, applicable *in situ*, and it consists in placing the objects (from small dimension items to columns, statues, wooden parts of churches etc.) in sealed envelopes made of a gas barrier plastic. The exposure times necessary to get 100% mortality of all life stages may vary from 10 days (adult) to 21 days (larvae and pupa), therefore – in order to have a doubt free decontamination – it is recommended to keep the objects in the anoxia medium for 35 days.

The first Romanian Veloxy campaign has taken place in 2013 spring and it was focused on the decontamination of the Wax Cylinders Collection of The Romanian Academy's "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore. About 650 wax cylinders were introduced in sealed gas barrier plastic envelopes, where they will remain for at least 35 days in order have a safe pest purging.

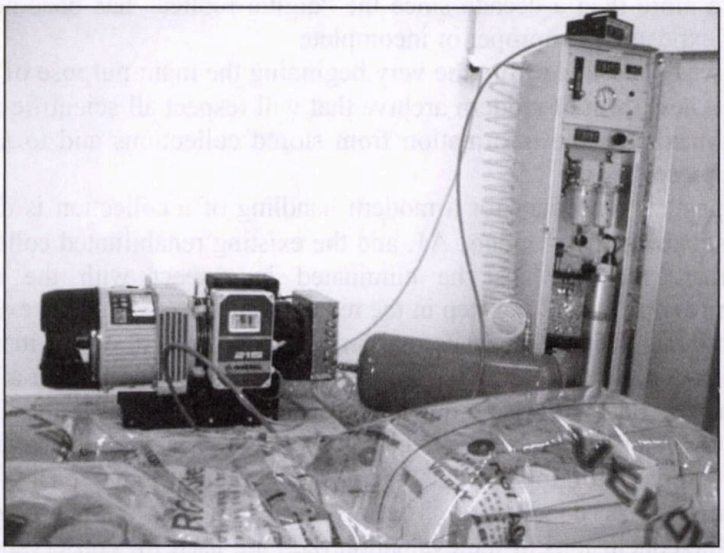


Fig. 1 – Veloxy system in action at the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute's Archive.

Fig. 2 – Wax cylinders boxes in Veloxy envelopes.

DIGITIZATION

The "transcription" of documents, books, 3D cultural and artistic objects, monuments, etc. in digital format – related with the computers capacity to represent data in an efficient manner for users –, is not anymore an innovative approach. Yet, in spite of a more than a decade since the "digital replica" has become common, this type of exposure is improper or incomplete.

As it was underlined from the very beginning the main purpose of the project is to create a new form of modern archive that will respect all scientific approaches in order to maximize the information from stored collections and to increase the life of each piece.

The general procedure for a modern handling of a collection is described in Figure 3 (the new archival inputs, A1, and the existing rehabilitated collection, B1). Past incorrect practices must be eliminated in respect with the new items manipulation and storage. First step in the rehabilitation process of the existing items is their identification in the deposits registering ledgers. Then, on the material items proper, a first evaluation is on the item's status (in concordance with all necessary and selected criteria for the new database), also looking for reversible degradation correction and stopping of irreversible phenomena. Material characterization is mandatory when working with organic materials (high sensitivity versus environmental stress conditions). The efficiency of the entire program gains progress if the conclusions of the evaluation (B2) are used for conservation strategy (i.e. in case of written paper: paper quality, specific acidity, whitening level, ink or

crayon chemical composition, biodegradation and other characteristic stains, etc. are information that make the difference for the next steps).

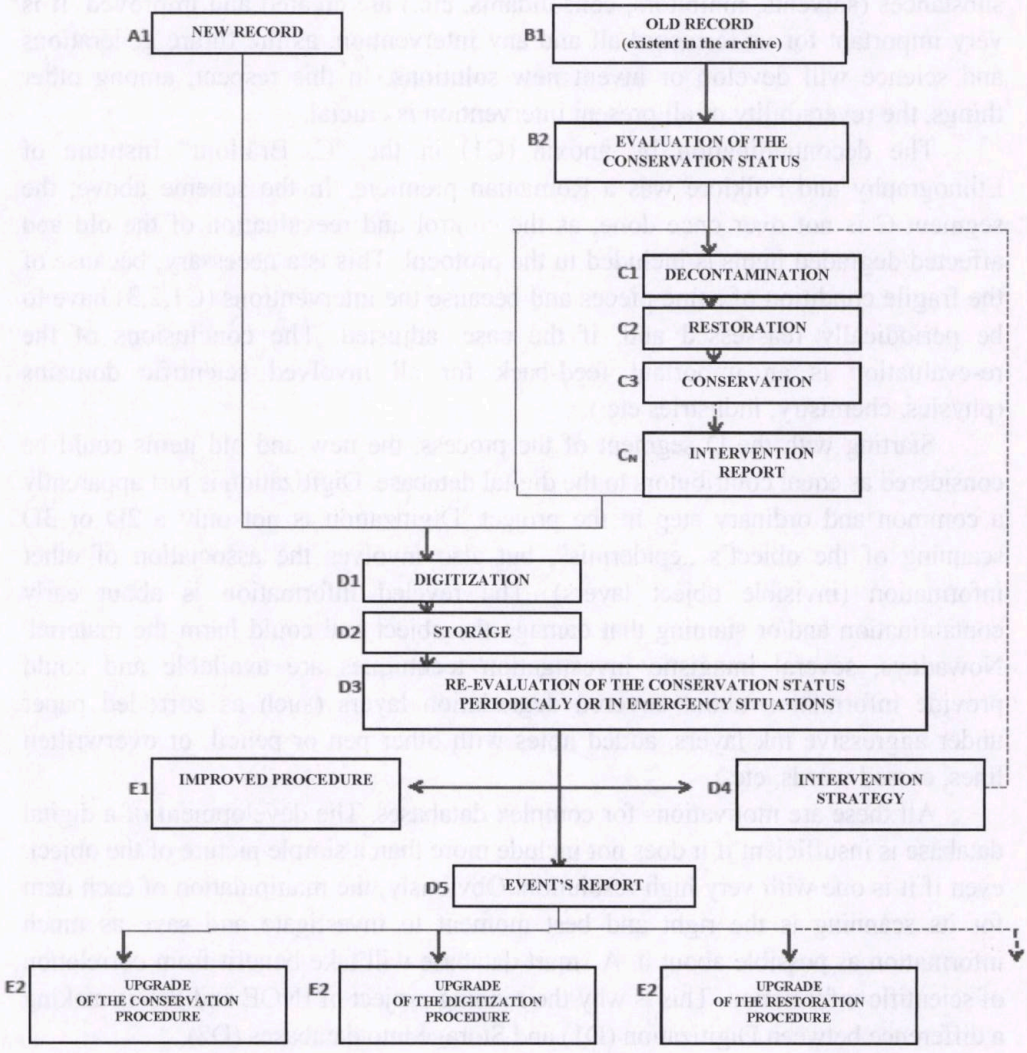


Fig. 3 – General procedure scheme.

The object restoration is the work that is in related to the material media (paper, magnetic tape, celluloid tape, vinyl, wax, etc.), and less taken into consideration by collection's researchers/exploiters. Independently to certain investigations number and type, which determinate the restoration (C2) and

conservation (C3), the registration of all decisions and intervention (C4/n) is mandatory and crucial for the next stages.

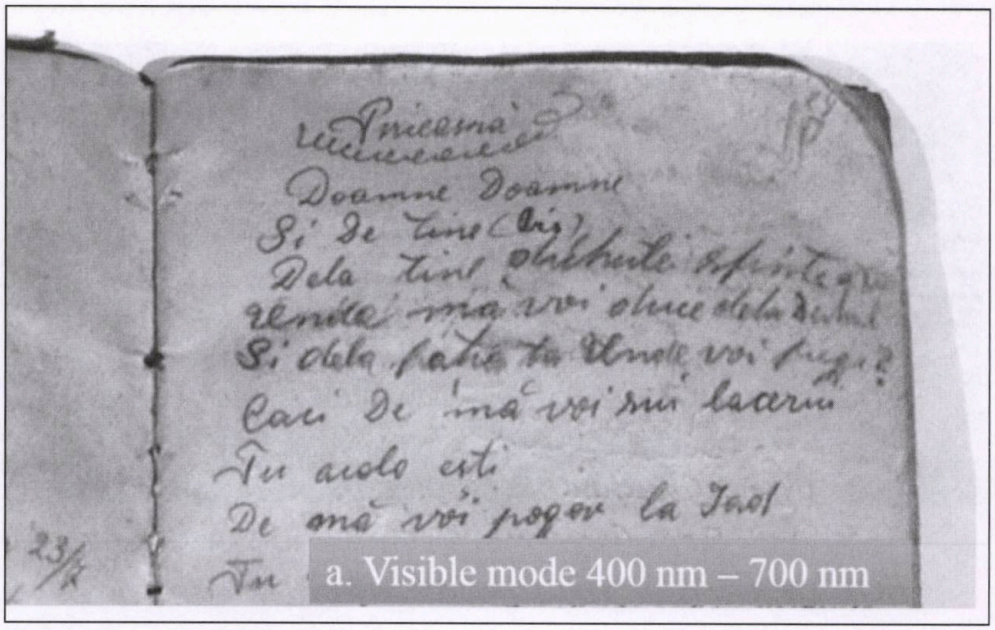
Restoration-and-conservation is a dynamic science and, like in medicine, new substances (solvents, inhibitors, consolidants, etc.) are created and improved. It is very important for us to record all and any intervention, as the future generations and science will develop or invent new solutions. In this respect, among other things, the reversibility of all present intervention is crucial.

The decontamination by anoxia (C1) in the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore was a Romanian premiere. In the scheme above, the segment C is not over once done, as the control and reevaluation of the old and affected/degraded items is included in the protocol. This is a necessary, because of the fragile condition of some pieces and because the interventions (C1,2,3) have to be periodically reassessed and, if the case, adjusted. The conclusions of the re-evaluation is an important feed-back for all involved scientific domains (physics, chemistry, industries etc.).

Starting with the D segment of the process, the new and old items could be considered as equal contributors to the digital database. Digitization is just apparently a common and ordinary step in the project. Digitization is not only a 2D or 3D scanning of the object's „epidermis", but also involves the association of other information (invisible object layers). The reveled information is about early contamination and/or staining that damage the object and could harm the material. Nowadays, several imagistic investigation techniques are available and could provide information about covered degradation layers (such as corroded paper under aggressive ink layers, added notes with other pen or pencil, or overwritten lines, erased words, etc.).

All these are motivations for complex databases. The development of a digital database is insufficient if it does not include more than a simple picture of the object, even if it is one with very high resolution. Obviously, the manipulation of each item for its scanning is the right and best moment to investigate and save as much information as possible about it. A smart database will take benefit from correlation of scientific information. This is why the running project of INOE and IEF is making a difference between Digitization (D1) and Storage into databases (D2).

A major advantage is brought in by the application of non-invasive, non-contact techniques, that not only do not induce any stress to the artifact, but offer the possibility of having multispectral images (UV, VIS, NIR) or fluorescence scanning images (Laser Induced Fluorescence). Besides the identification of different types of inks, pigments, stain discrimination etc., this can distinguish if a bio-attack is present and can track unseen information contained in the analyzed item



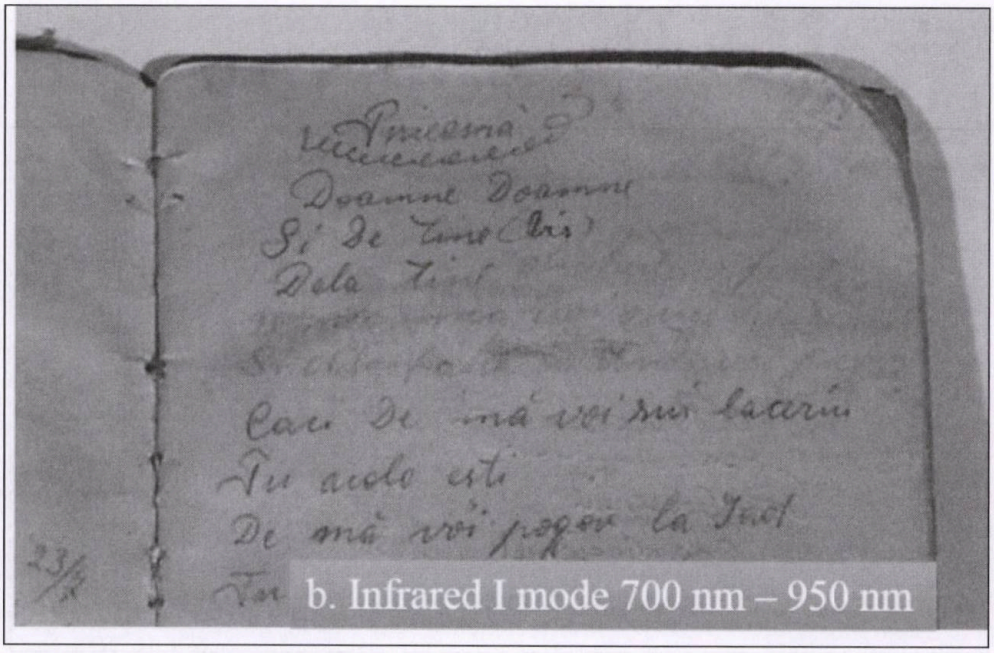
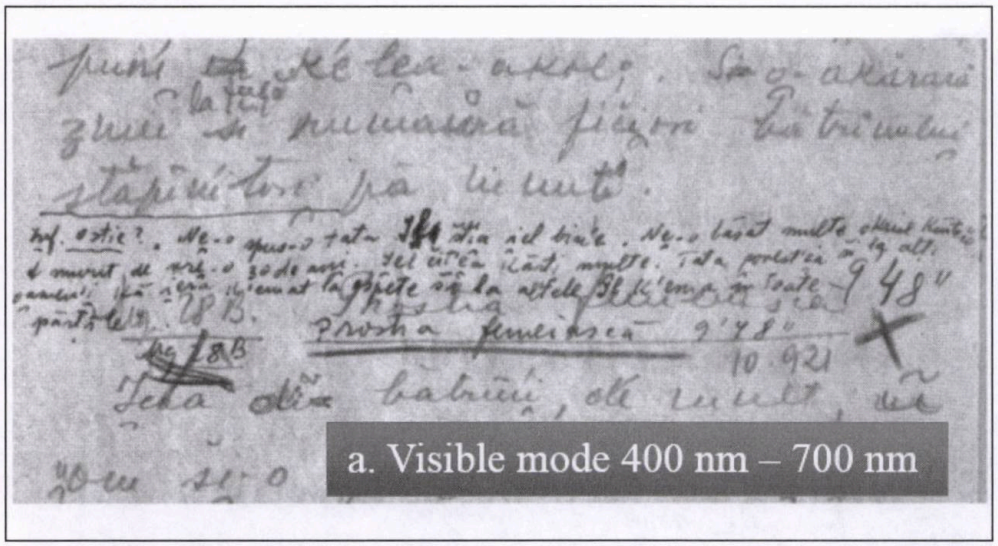


Fig. 4 – Multispectral Images in IR and VIS
mode on notebook page that extract added/modified text.



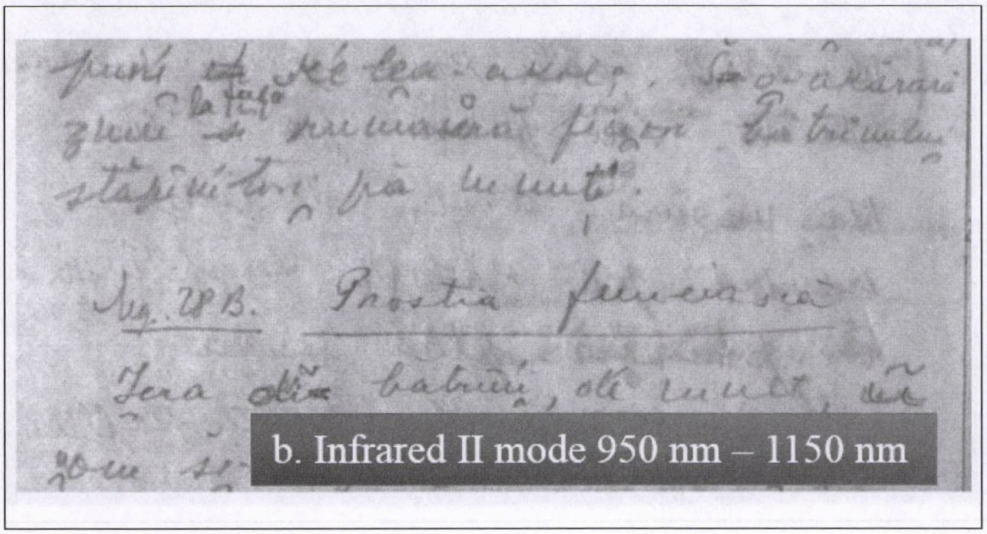


Fig. 5 – Multispectral Images in IR and VIS mode
show the original aspect of the note and covered original title.

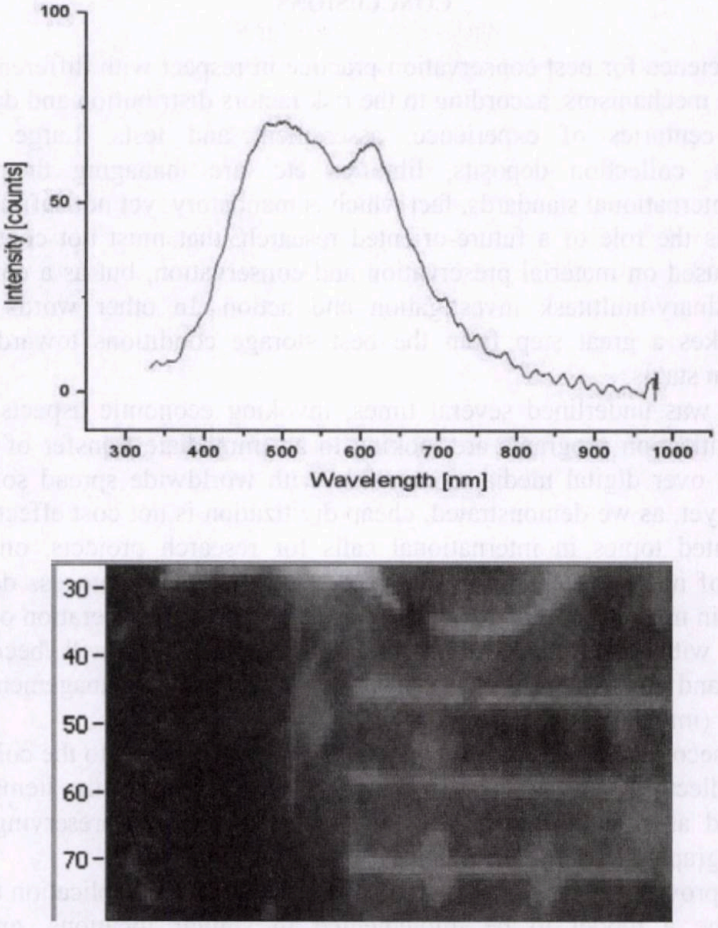


Fig. 6 – LIF spectrum and LIF scanning image[7].

The new re-evaluation of the collection (D4) is necessary because of the same reason already presented after segment C, and because the digitization involves manipulation, too. Also, this new re-evaluation will be focused on generated IT product conservation. Involved researchers are aware that, as many other managed digital information, databases have to be updated and upgraded according the ICT evolution.

The natural ageing phenomena that are claiming temporary control, as well as any unwished events (accidentally extreme dry environment, increased moisture, fire/smoke etc.) have to be urgently followed by a re-evaluation process. In consequence, the above procedure steps will be improved if frails are identified.

[7] Angheluta–Striber–Radvan–Simileanu 2008.

CONCLUSIONS

The science for best conservation practice in respect with different materials degradation mechanisms, according to the risk factors distribution and dynamics, is based on centuries of experience, assessment and tests. Large categories of museums, collection deposits, libraries etc. are managing their treasures following international standards, fact which is mandatory, yet not sufficient.

This is the role of a future-oriented research, that must not continue to be seen as focused on material preservation and conservation, but as a corroborated, multidisciplinary/multitask investigation and action. In other words, a modern archive makes a great step from the best storage conditions towards the best conservation status.

As it was underlined several times, invoking economic aspects, the most popular digitization programs are looking to an immediate transfer of superficial information over digital media, compatible with worldwide spread software and computers; yet, as we demonstrated, cheap digitization is not cost effective. Based on highlighted topics in international calls for research projects, on increased popularity of intelligent solutions and self-control industrial process devices, the procedures in museum and archives will have to justify each operation on object or in respect with object protection; the data management will become more important and will be extended from best materials management to best information (immaterial) management.

On a secondary level, the procedures will add more perks to the collection:

- the collection value will be increased, since till now all the items were not looked at as enduring values, but just as means for preserving folk and ethnographic Romanian culture;
- it will provide a representative archive facility – a pilot application that should become a model to be implemented in similar locations, emphasizing sustainable preservation strategies;
- the proposed facility will technically assure a broaden access to the archive collection, with minimum risks, and will help enlighten a collection that was poorly known and exploited so far;
- it will facilitate its access to an European network of similar multimedia collections.

The present project is not suggesting people to give up consulting the original documents, but just the control allowing access in special cases. Based on collection consulting in digital format, research will become more effective and valuable since it will insure access to all possible pieces of information (included some unavailable to the naked eye)[8].

[8] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDI– UEFISCDI, PN-II-PT-PCCA-2011-3.1-0363.

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SONGS OF JEWISH WOMEN IN THE HISTORICAL COMMUNITIES OF NORTHWEST LIBYA AND SOUTHERN MOROCCO

ESSICA MARKS

ABSTRACT

The article describes women's musical cultures of two Jewish communities in North Africa. The research presented here is based on fieldwork that had been conducted in 1993 in several Jewish communities of Libyan-North-Sahara (Yifren area) settled in Israel, and in 1998 in communities of the South Morocco area that were settled in Israel during the 1950s. The author was a member of the ethnomusicological team sent by Bar Ilan University to study the music of these two communities. These fieldworks are the only source and evidence to the unique ancient repertoire of songs of women in these two past Jewish communities.

Keywords: Jewish music, Jewish heritage, song, Yifren, Libya, North-Sahara, Morocco.

INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the musical heritage of women in the Jewish communities of southern Morocco (in the Atlas Mountains) and the communities of Libyan Jews from the area of Yifren in the northern Sahara. Linking these two communities is their antiquity: they appear to have settled in the south of Morocco and Libya by the 10th century BC. The musical traditions of the Jews of Libya and South Morocco, and of Jewish women in general and these communities in particular, only came to light with the migration of these communities to the state of Israel during the 1950s. From the first, researchers of Jewish music realized that this music, especially that of the women, encompassed an ancient musical culture which had preserved extremely old musical and cultural elements that very probably had not changed for centuries because of the isolation of these communities. Regretfully this realization did not result in indepth studies of these repertoires. This article will attempt to shed light on this female musical culture even though it no longer exists today.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TWO JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN MOROCCO AND LIBYA

The Jewish community in South Morocco

The Jews in Morocco were divided into four groups. The first were Jews in the Atlas region who lived among the Berbers until the 1950s[1]. This community claims to have settled in Morocco in the region of the Berbers in the time of the First Temple (around 10th Century BC). They were scattered in 150 small communities in southern Morocco. According to ancient local traditions, in the south of Morocco the first inhabitants in Ofran in the Anti-Atlas region were Jews, and in the adjoining Dera'a region a Jewish realm, whose founders came from the land of Israel, existed before the arrival of Islam[2]. A second group consisted of migrants who came from the land of Israel in the footsteps of the Phoenicians and the Romans, starting in the first century CE[3]. A third group of Jewish immigrants came from the Arabian Peninsula and adjacent areas after the Muslim occupation, in the seventh century CE. The fourth stratum of Moroccan Jews consisted of those expelled from Spain in 1492. Many of them settled in Morocco[4].

The Jews of Morocco, as in other Arab countries, had the dubious honor of being assigned the *dhimmi* status: that is, they were classified as subjects with no rights rather than citizens, and they suffered financially and socially as a result. *Dhimmi* laws varied from ruler to ruler: the more enlightened ones appointed Jews as advisors to their courts, whereas those less lenient were likely to impose heavy taxes on the local Jewish population[5].

This article deals with the Jewish communities of southern Morocco. These communities were very old, and their traditions were steeped in history. Morocco is divided by the Atlas Mountains, and the culture of the northern segment is influenced by the cultures of the Mediterranean countries, whereas the south and the interior are influenced by the culture of the northern Sahara, specifically by that of the local Berbers.

The uniqueness of the Jews in the Moroccan Atlas is reflected in their culture and folklore, which were preserved in their original forms until the 1950s. The geographical landscape of the Atlas Mountains helped to preserve the ancient Jewish culture there, in that 90% of the area is hilly desert with rocky outcrops, offering no option but to settle only in a few remote and isolated places.

[1] Berbers are the original inhabitants of the Maghreb, who adopted Islam after the Muslim occupation, but maintained their own language, culture and customs. Since there is no written language it is difficult to reconstruct their sources and history. Today they live mainly in Morocco, with a few in southern Algeria. Significant numbers still live tribally.

[2] Avitbol 2004.

[3] Bashan 2000: 11–16.

[4] Bashan 2000: 15–57.

[5] Bashan 2000: 15–57.

"Among the remote tribes of Yishal, the Jews of the Atlas mountains are particularly interesting. Anyone who met them and observed them singing and dancing, dressed in their flowing white robes, with their boat-like shoes with their sharp prows; any person who saw them thus, cannot fail to be impressed by the exoticism and antiquity that they radiate"[6].

It is not easy to study the ancient culture of the Jews of the Atlas, mainly because of the acute shortage of historical evidence, in contrast to the *status quo* for most Jewish communities in Israel. This shortage of historical documents is reflected in the lack of typical buildings such as synagogues, a shortage of objects d'art and especially in the lack of written documents. Moreover, since a large percentage of these Jews lived in mountain caves, there was no furniture or paper.

In the 20th century about 250,000 Jews lived in Morocco, a third among the Berber tribes in South Morocco, and the ties between the Jewish communities and the Berbers were extremely close. Their shared existence takes expression in their common customs, such as shared rain prayer processions and shared holy places[7], and in their common language, *Shluhi*.

The status of the Jews among the Berbers was different from that of the Jews in the north of Morocco and was based on a covenant of *haer* (shame) – a ritualistic-mystic faith that linked the Jew to the tribal chieftain. The symbolic expression of this covenant was the *debicha*, a ritual ceremony in which the Jews sacrificed a sheep. The Berbers in return pledged to defend them, and even avenged injured Jews as if they were family. The Jews were prohibited from leaving their place of residence, and if a man left home to work in the fields or sell his produce, his wife and children were held hostage until his return. The tribal chief was entitled to treat a Jew as he pleased: to banish him, to sell his house or to raze it[8].

Of the Libyan Jewish communities

The Jewish communities of Libya are the most ancient Jewish communities within the far-flung Jewish Diaspora. The earliest traditions link the first Jewish settlement to the days of King Solomon and the first temple (10 BCE), Jews having come to the coast of Libya by sea with the Phoenicians (7 BCE). Evidence about Jews in Libya can be found as early as the third century BCE in Kirnaika on the border of the Hellenistic Jewish community in Egypt, and the Kirnaika community continued to flourish during Roman times. It is known that after the destruction of the second temple, 30,000 Jewish prisoners were brought to this region by the Romans. The Jews of Kirnaika took part in the uprising of the exiles in the reign of Traianus (115–117 CE) and suffered severe losses, with many forced to flee southward, to the northern Sahara, and this is the period that saw a process of Judaization of the local Berber tribes. Evidence to this effect can be found in rural

[6] From a radio program in the early fifties edited by the Jewish music scholar Dr. Esther Gerzon Kiwi.

[7] The rabbis of northern Morocco opposed these sites and banned them.

[8] Shokeid 1996; Bashan 2000: 15–57.

communities in southern Libya with names like "Hirbat Elihud", "Elihudiya", "Ras Elshevet" and "Kaf Elshevet"[9]. The Arab Muslims who conquered Libya in 643 CE were resisted by Jews and Berbers alike, but the opposition was suppressed, the Berbers converted to Islam, and the Jews became *dhimmis*.

After the expulsion from Spain in 1492, some Sephardi Jews arrived in Libya, followed by Jews from around the Mediterranean basin, mainly from Livorno and Tunisia. The influence of Spanish Jewry on the Jews of Libya was mainly religious, cultural and moral, although after the expulsion from Spain most Jews came to northern Africa, settling mainly in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and not in Libya.

The Ottoman Empire extended its sphere of influence to Libya during the first half of the 16th century and ruled it until the beginning of the twentieth. During this period the Jews enjoyed relatively good conditions, a situation that continued even after occupation by the Italian army in 1911. Attacks on Libyan Jews began in 1938 with the enactment of racist laws in Italy, which were later extended to Libyan Jewry. Both during and after World War II, Jews suffered from pogroms. Between 1948 and 1953 almost the entire Jewish community immigrated to Israel, except for those who went to Italy[10].

The Jewish women whose music is described in the present article belong to the communities of western Libya, in the Yifren area of the northern Sahara.

WOMEN'S SONG IN BOTH COMMUNITIES

A central theme of this article rests on the fact that Jewish communities in southern Morocco and western Libya were extremely isolated until the middle of the 20th century. These communities preserved their ancient traditions and cultures very much as in the distant past. One of the most ancient traditions of women is their singing. To date, women's songs has not been systematically investigated and one of the main reasons is that in both communities there was no written tradition, hence the singing was passed orally from generation to generation. The fact that until the mid–20th century the lifestyle of these communities in general and the women in particular followed unbroken patterns of culture and tradition allows us to address the musical traditions of the Jewish women of Yifren Libya and south of Morocco who came to Israel in the fifties as the relics of early musical traditions of the women of these communities. It should be noted that the female-musical traditions no longer exist, because only the first generation of women who came from Libya and Morocco maintained them, and subsequent generations of women rejected and did not preserve them. Recordings of women's song made in the 1990s, and kept in the national sound archive of the National Library in Jerusalem,

[9] Hagag-Lilouf 2007.
[10] Hagag-Lilouf 2000: 53–206.

are the only evidence of an ancient tradition of women in both these historic communities.

An important characteristic of women's song in both communities is that the music and texts were composed by the women themselves, and in each community there were highly creative women who composed them. Since women in both communities were illiterate, their songs were composed and sung orally. Over the years, new songs were composed and added to the repertoire, leading to the formation of a collection of songs of Jewish women in the northern Sahara that was handed down through the generations for hundreds of years. Each community had its own repertoire which did not leave its community until the emigration to Israel.

The tunes of the Jewish women of Yifren (Libya) and the Atlas Mountains (Morocco) usually have a simple melodic structure which includes verses of two musical phrases, where the melodic direction is for a rise in the first phrase and a fall in the concluding phrase. The rhythm of these melodies has a permanent beat with an alternating meter. The range is very limited and the text-music relation is syllabic. The texts of Jewish women in the two communities under discussion are characterized by variable rhymes. These were sung by women in their homes or at family gatherings, and the singing usually took place in the presence of women, and not of men.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE TWO COMMUNITIES

As in most traditional societies, there was, in this community too, a clear cut division of functions, according to which men were the custodians of written tradition (sacred music and texts), whereas women cultivated the oral tradition. Customarily, the latter was considered somewhat inferior[11].

In each community, boys and girls were assigned different roles. Boys went to synagogue to study. At school they learned Hebrew and related topics in Judaism. In contrast, the girls were required to learn household duties and to help the family earn a living, and then to marry and have children. The girls in these communities in Libya and southern Morocco were not taught to read and write, and never entered a school. This situation was reflected in the Islamic Berber environment in which these two communities lived. The girls were educated at home by their mothers and other extended family members. Mothers taught their daughters everything a woman needed to know about household management: washing, cooking and caring for infants, and the girls learned the laws of *kashrut* (ritual preparation of food) from their mothers[12].

In both communities, women would regularly get together informally and when working. The young girls who accompanied them practiced their handcraft (sewing, embroidery, and knitting) and absorbed the cultural values of the

[11] Terry Brint 2003, Magrini 2003.
[12] Arazi 1996.

community at these meetings. While working, the women would often sing wedding songs, songs for the birth of a male child, or dirges, and in this way the girls learned their traditional songs, from generation to generation, from mother to daughter.

The mother was responsible not only for imparting domestic skills and handcraft, but also for inculcating social values and behavior. She instructed her daughter to honor her father and mother; how to behave, how to receive guests, and how to recite blessings and prayers in ways that conformed to the expectations of the community in times of joy and mourning. The mother also instructed her daughter in the basics of Jewish tradition and customs, such as keeping kosher and observing festivals and the Sabbath[13].

One way of imparting these values was through song. Each topic had its own repertoire, which had been composed by the women themselves since time immemorial, passed down from mother to daughter. In this way, the repertoire of women in the Libyan and southern Morocco communities became extremely rich.

These two Jewish communities maintained a very traditional way of life, and women were not permitted to engage in musical activities or song outside of the family framework. In addition, until they came to Israel, the women of the Libyan and southern Moroccan communities never became literate. This meant that the songs were always in the local patois: for women in southern Morocco, this was Berber, and in Libya it was the local form of Arabic[14]. Despite these limitations, the women created a rich musical oeuvre composed mainly of song. The songs of the Jewish women of southern Morocco and Libya were created to give musical expression to their world.

THE "AHWASH" CEREMONY IN THE ATLAS MOUNTAIN REGION IN MOROCCO

In the Atlas Mountains of southern Morocco, the secular music, singing and dance of the Atlas Jews are identical to those of the Berber tribes they lived with, and women's song is part of their common ancient culture. A remnant of this ancient shared musical culture is the *Ahwash* (party) ceremony.

The *Ahwash* is a Berber ceremony containing musical, poetic, choreographic and behavioral elements typical of the whole Berber musical tradition in Morocco. It includes songs and dances with a fixed structure and order. The *Ahwash* includes components such as drumming, singing, dancing, clapping, and more. The ceremony is remarkable for the Jewish–Berber community in that both men and women participated. Its texts and tunes were always in the Berber language and had apparently existed for many centuries. The ceremony had multiple functions

[13] Arazi 1996: 125–128.

[14] This is the distinguishing feature of women and men's song in these two communities. The men learned to read and write Hebrew, and thus their repertoire contained prayers and songs in the language in which they were written, Hebrew.

but it was always performed in a celebratory context, such as weddings, marking the seasons, festivals, birth, circumcision and *bar mitzvah* (initiation into religious responsibility).

As is still the case at their original localities in the Moroccan Atlas Mountains (Igloua, Tidili, Ayt Bougmmaz), the Berber-Jews connected the *ahwash* ceremony in Israel (Aderet and Shokeda localities namely) to events of the life cycle such as weddings and *bar-mitzvah* or to events of the agricultural calendar, such as the end of the harvest season[15].

The *Ahwash* always started late at night and continued for hours. The distinguishing feature of the ceremony was that both men and women took part, but in two groups. The role of the master of ceremonies, the *sheikh al ahwash*, was to guide the groups of men and women, to determine who would do what and to ensure the ceremony's proper progress. The women's group sang and danced in a straight line, shoulder to shoulder, with their faces towards the men. The women formed two sub-groups: first, the *tamarkat* – the women who were the first to leave the line and dance in a circle in the middle, and who were considered the best dancers. Secondly, there was a *leading singer*, whose role in the hierarchical-musical status was surprisingly subordinate. This socially inferior role stemmed from her being completely dependent on the *sheikh al ahwash* throughout the ceremony. She was never permitted to make autonomous decisions about the ceremony or the repertoire of songs. Nevertheless, she was considered the repository of knowledge for the *ahwash* repertoire of songs, a repertoire covering hundreds of years of oral tradition, handed down from women to their daughters, to family members and others. The leading singer selected material from the poetic material of the "composers" within the group of men, who had made up tunes for existing words, and developed it into new material herself. This process of "adaptation" by the leading singer was acknowledged by all to be a permanent component for all participants in a ceremony known and used as a kind of social play between men and women. Another important role of the leading singer was maintaining the line of women in a properly disciplined structure. Women's song at the *ahwash* ceremony took the form of responsorial singing. Some of the women began by singing the first half of the poetic line, and then the others responded by singing the second half of the same line[16].

TOPICS OF WOMEN'S SONGS IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF THE NORTHERN SAHARA

The main topic of women's songs in both of these venerable communities was the cycle of life. At every stage of a child's development, a mother would sing songs: on entering the room, walking to school, or taking up the responsibility of

[15] Azaryahu 1999.
[16] Azaryahu 1999.

religious precepts (*mitzvoth*). Another group was that of the work accompanying a harsh life that started with marriage at a cruelly young age: songs of birth, of raising children and hard work at home and in the fields.

Marriage

In the life cycle of the two communities, marriage held a crucial and central position, possibly more important than that of any other ceremony. In contrast to most other transitional life cycle ceremonies, preparations began long before the wedding ceremony itself.

The question of the marriage age of women in Islamic countries in general and the Jewish communities discussed here has in the past been of crucial importance. The marriage age of women in the Jewish communities of the Atlas and southern Libya was particularly early. They were frequently married at 12–14, but marriage at 8–10 was not uncommon. The reason for such early marriages in the communities in question here (as in other Islamic countries) was fear of kidnapping of girls by Muslim men for marriage (a common phenomenon), whereas Muslims would not kidnap a married girl. The choice of husband was made solely by the parents[17].

In the engagement ceremony, a contract was signed by both families ensuring marriage between bride and groom. The engagement period made it possible to commit to marriage girls of a very tender age, of 7 or even less, who would then remain engaged for a long period, perhaps years. The initial contact between the families in both communities was usually made by the family of the groom. When the groom's family produced the groom, an agreement would be signed by the two families (a "commitment") which included details about the dowry, future place of residence, a "refusal" clause dealing with the right of the minor to refuse to marry when she was older, as well as allowing for compensation that each party would pay if the marriage failed to take place. The marriage of relatives was very common in these two communities. Before this ceremony the women of the intended bride sang to her songs about marriage and the benefits of being married.

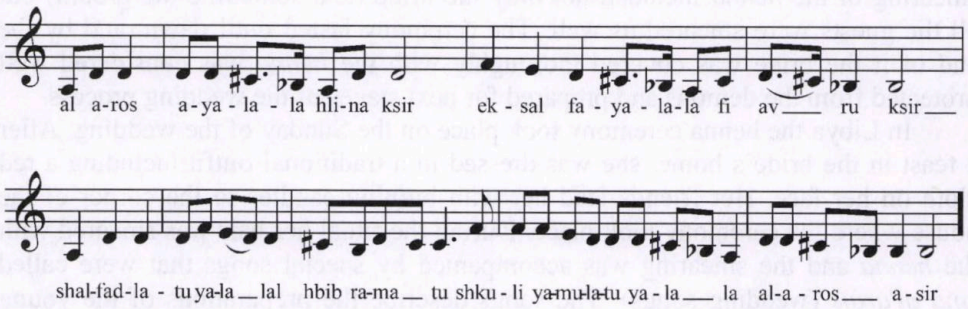
The wedding preparations began long before the celebrations themselves, due to the special status of the marriage ceremony which took place only once in a lifetime in these traditional societies. Enormous effort was invested in planning a series of ceremonial events, including formulating relationships between families, raising the dowry and preparing dowry items which were made by the women of the bride's family, and preparing the feast and its special delicacies. A large part of these preparations fell to the women, and all this was accompanied by a rich repertoire of songs composed and performed by women over many generations. The content of the songs prepared the young girl to the coming events.

[17] Tzabar 1996b.

The central event in women's song in both communities was the process of marriage in all its stages. Beginning with the engagement, the joy continued with *shabat lebanat* (the Sabbath of the girls) where all the village girls and women sang songs accompanied by dancing until day's end; this event was for women only. The next stage was the henna ceremony, and again the women would surround the bride and accompany the ceremony with singing. The topics of the songs revolved around the bride's leaving her family, fear of her mother-in-law, isolation in her new house, and the transition from being a daughter to a wife and mother.

Example – song praising the bridegroom, from Atlas Morocco (Haviva Gabai, 1998)

This song was performed in the engagement ceremony and during the week of the marriage celebrations. The song is addressed to the bride to be and describes beauty of the bridegroom coming up as a shining moon.


al a-ros a-ya - la - la hli-na ksir ek - sal fa - ya - la-la fi av ru ksir
shal-fad-la - tu ya-la lal hbib ra-ma tu shku - li ya-mu-la-tu ya - la la al-a - ros a - sir

(text in *Shluhi*[18]):

Alaros ayalala hli na ksir
Eksal fayalala fi avru ksir
Shalfadlatu yalalal hbib ramato
Shkuli yamulatu yalala alaros asir

The henna ceremony and its songs

Painting a bride with henna before the marriage ceremony is one of the commonest customs in Islamic countries, for both Jews and Muslims alike. It has great social significance, particularly for the bride and her family. This rite of passage signifies the impending transition in the girl's life, after which both bride and groom will be in need of protection. The role of henna in Islamic countries was, and still is, to protect the couple. This practice existed in both communities[19].

The henna night took place on one of the evenings during the week before the day of the wedding. The ceremony is performed at the bride's house and the

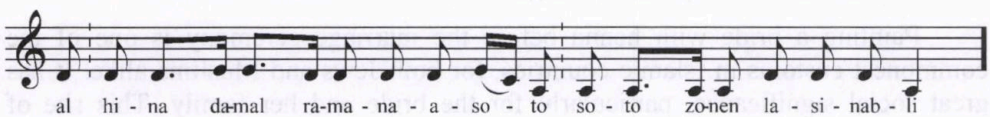
[18] The Arabic language of the Moroccan Atlas area.
[19] Tzabar 1996b.

participants are family female members of the bride and groom. The ceremony was accompanied by cries of happiness, eating of delicatessen, handing gifts, and singing. The singing was performed by the group of women that were proficient in the *henna* repertoire. These songs had an important social function in the henna night: they were a kind of instructions to the bride (who was very young) regarding the wedding night. The topics of the *henna* songs were very serious: departure from the parents. Leaving home to the husband's house, rules of behavior with the mother in law, consummation of the marriage and obligations of the bride toward her husband and his family.

In Morocco the *henna* took place in the evening after the day that the bride went to pure herself at the *Mikve*[20]. In the ceremony the *henna* material was smeared on the bride's hands. The *henna* was placed in a bawl decorated with flowers, sweets and candles. Every guest (only women participated in the event) danced in her turn and accompanied the dance with special *henna* songs. The smearing of the *henna* included not only the bride (and sometime the groom) but all the guests were smeared as well. The ceremony lasted until dawn, and by the end of it the bride was covered thoroughly with the *henna* was considered well protected from the demons and prepared for next stages of the wedding process.

In Libya the henna ceremony took place on the Sunday of the wedding. After a feast in the bride's home, she was dressed in a traditional outfit including a red cloth on her face. Her friends lead her with burning candles to the corner of the house where the ceremony took place. During the ritual her hair was smeared with the *henna* and the smearing was accompanied by special songs that were called *rina al'arais* (wedding songs). The songs describe the preparations of the young girl-bride to the new life in the husband's home. In the course of the singing the women guests put the henna on the girl's hands, and each gave a present to the bride. These presents helped with the wedding expenses. The centrality and importance of this ceremony is manifested in the fact that the Sabbath before the wedding is named *Sabt alhenna* (the henna Sabbath).

Example – Henna song from The Atlas Morocco (Alia Dadon, 1998)



(text in *Shluhi* – the song is addressed to the bride)

Al hinna damal raman'a'soto
Soto soto zonen lasinabli

(translation)

God gave you beauty, thus we put the henna in your hands.

[20] A ritual bath designed for the purpose of ritual immersion in Judaism. The word *mikvah*, as used in the Hebrew Bible, literally means a "collection" – generally, a collection of water.

Pregnancy and maternity

The great value bestowed on the fruit of the womb is a cornerstone of Jewish culture in general and in Islamic countries in particular. In both the traditional Jewish societies in Libya and Morocco, barrenness was considered an irremediable defect. Both Jews and Muslims of the Atlas Mountains believed that barrenness could be caused by *tkaf* (stopping up, locking) – a kind of spell that could be imposed on people[21].

Pregnancy symbolized a new period, and raised the value of the pregnant woman in the eyes of her family and the community as a whole. This was one of the most important events in family life. Henceforth, pregnancy and birth would become the central axis around which the life of the young woman, sometimes only 13 or 14, would revolve.

Pregnancy was accompanied by many fears. Mother and fetus were considered particularly vulnerable, and many women believed that evil spirits might cause them harm. In order to protect against this, the women would administer special talismans that they carried with them.

The birth of the baby in these communities was fraught with danger for both mother and child. In the areas under discussion, and certainly in earlier times, the practice was to have a group of women in attendance (this practice was maintained in both these communities until they moved to Israel in the 1950s), In the delivery room, a group of women expert in midwifery assisted the laboring mother, but there were many cases of death of both mother and infant. No men were allowed to enter the delivery room[22].

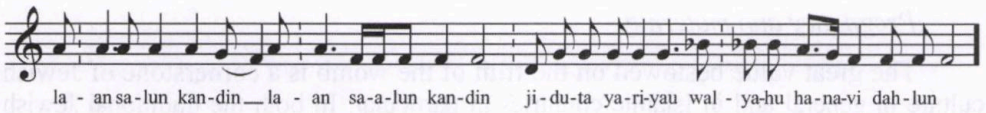
In Libya, once the afterbirth (*kalas*) had been expelled, the midwife would announce the child's sex, which signified the end of the birth process (*kalasat*). In Morocco, the midwife would hold the child, touch the *mezuzah* (a prayer cylinder attached to the door jamb) and intone a special prayer for the peace and redemption of Israel.

The high infant mortality rate of infants in these regions caused much apprehension to the women and their families. Both communities, but particularly the women, adhered to the superstition that birth was the time when negative forces conspired to cause harm to both mother and infant. Songs were a tool of reassuring the young mother and the rest of the family that the baby is protected from evil forces. An important element of protection of the baby was the figure of the prophet Eliyahu, considered in the Jewish communities of the Islamic areas to have mystical powers due to his mysterious disappearance. Eliyahu the prophet was called to protect the baby by the women in songs.

Example – song from the Moroccan Atlas (Hanna Swissa, 1998)

The song says that when a baby (boy) is born, we light a candle and Eliyahu the prophet enters the room, and then the baby is safe and we can perform the circumcision.

[21] Tzabar 1996a.
[22] Tzabar 1996a.

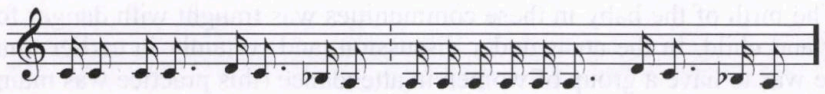


La'an Sa'lun candin, La'an Sa'lun kandin,
Jiduta yariyau wal'yahu hanavi dahlun
La'an Sa'alun candin, La'an Sa'alun kandin,
Eliyahu hanavi dahluchahu....

The families of the new couple preferred male babies, especially the husband's family. So part of the songs dealt with this issue, many of the songs concerning the wish for a baby boy were part of the mothers-in-law repertoire.

Example – melody of a song from the Moroccan Atlas (Hanna Swissa, 1998)

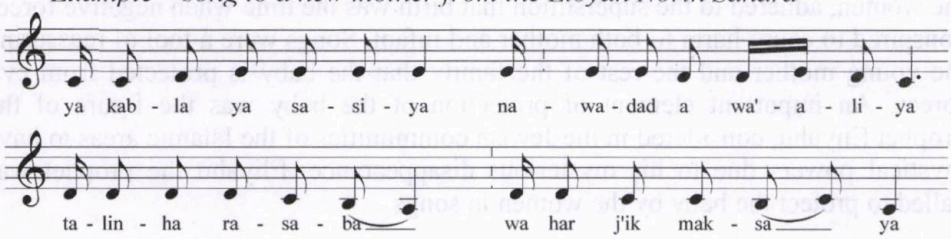
The song is addressed to the daughter-in-law and says simply: my daughter, it is better to have a baby boy, try to do it (*Fainich binti adis asor*)[23].



In both communities, when a male child was born, all the female members of the family would come together, and for seven days until the ritual circumcision ceremony (*brith milah*) was performed, would attend the mother with joyful birth songs.

One of the roles of the Jewish women Libya in the northern Sahara was to grind spices on the eve of the ritual circumcision ceremony while the men read a chapter from the *Zohar* (a mystical biblical commentary). The spice grinding was accompanied by singing. For example, one of the songs would be addressed to the new mother, composed as the words of the midwife to the mother, saying, "Now that you have given birth, you may get up".

Example – song to a new mother from the Libyan North Sahara



(text in Libyan Arabic)

Ya kabla ya sasiya nawadad a wa'aliya
Talinha rasaba wa har j'ik maksaya
Ya kabla ya siti lukan falastikumi
Laka'uni minduda wala'ufiku rumi

[23] Unintelligible singing pronunciation.

At every stage of the child's development, the mother would sing songs to the child: on entering a room, on going to school, on taking on the responsibility of religious precepts. These songs were part of Jewish family life in Libya.

Bar mitzvah

Bar mitzvah is the soubriquet for a male child on his 13th birthday according to Jewish tradition. This birthday marks the transition to adulthood, during which he must fulfill the religious precepts. The difference in age between a boy and a girl (*bat mitzvah*) in reaching the age of adopting the precepts is one year. This rite of passage is marked by a special ceremony.

The *bar mitzvah* ceremony is held when a boy reaches the age of thirteen years and one day. The ceremony is divided into two: First, the ceremony of binding the phylacteries is held in the middle of the week. This is usually combined with going to the synagogue to read the scroll of the law (*torah*) on Monday or Thursday. Secondly, the boy is invited to read a part of the law in synagogue on the Sabbath. Here, the boy reads the *torah* following a special method based on signs which determines the musical realization[24].

The preparations for the *bar mitzvah* ceremony by the women of the family included some new clothes for the boy. In Morocco, there was a kind of ceremony called *alaftzalah* where a tailor was asked to make a special garment for the boy. This ceremony was attended by family members and the women who prepared the new clothes. In both communities, the women would express the traditional female cries of joy during the ceremony (*kilili*). The boy's garment was a kind of long gown.

While preparing the refreshments for the ceremony that accompanied the *bar mitzvah* at home and at the synagogue, the women of the family would sing songs describing the way the child had grown and the sadness of the mother whose son had left childhood and entered adulthood. Some of the songs described the harsh world of the adults and the responsibilities the young boy will have to assume once he becomes "Bar Mitzva" and move to the world of the adults.

Mourning

One of the ceremonies held in the northern Sahara community was the lamentation of mourners. One of the roles of the women was to mourn the dead[25]. The women composed the songs themselves.

The dirges performed exclusively by women in the Libyan community were songs sung on the occasion of someone's death. Immediately following the death, a

[24] Weinstein & Tzabar 1996.

[25] It should be noted that this mourning ceremony did not exist among Ashkenazi Jews or in the West. It existed in Jewish communities in Islamic countries, mainly in North Africa and the Mediterranean basin.

group of women mourners would start the lamentation with a dirge about the deceased while moving in a circle, slowly beating time with sticks. They would continue the dirge while seated, one facing the other, with their hands on each other's shoulders, with each one composing words of praise about the deceased in verses and tunes specifically for mourning.

Example – song of mourning for the day of death
(Yocheved Gueta, Uza, 1993)

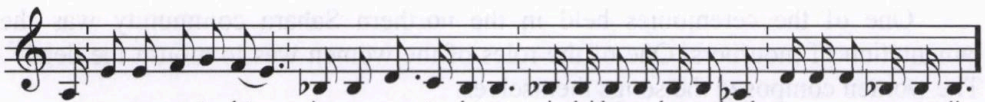
The song is sung by a soloist and is repeated at the end of each verse by the group.

Halilil mayet ki fi mut ma'amdu habi rufali
Wahad ig'ri latabut wataani lilkafni wati
Lig'ybulu dakaluh midalufi g'ireiyabi

The song says that when someone dies, no one pities him. A description of the preparation and the burial follows: one goes to fetch the coffin, one to dig his grave, and one to cleanse the body. Finally they bury him, and leave. Then the angels come to the dead man to recount his good and bad deeds, and bid him admit to his sins. The song continues by saying that he who does good deeds will be acquitted and not be punished by pillars of fire, but he who sinned will be crushed by the fiery pillars.

Another type of mourning songs is the songs of women who mourn their dead husbands; these are very emotional songs that express the sense of loss of the widow.

Example – T'sana Murtalat (Morocco, the Atlas mountains)



Tesana murtalat, t'sana murtalat
Idaibo akarzbosh n'e'z'mawali

My heart my heart, do not hurt my heart
My heart my heart, do not cry, many hearts cried
The love of my heart has gone and took all my feelings and heart

Work songs

Another topic in women's song is songs of work, which accompanied the traditional work of women in both communities, labor which started at a tender age when the girl would help her mother and continued when she became a bride and mother herself. These songs accompanied the Jewish women of the Moroccan Atlas Mountains and Libyan southern Sahara from the dawn to the twilight of their days. These songs expressed the feelings of the women.

In Libya in the rural areas of Yifren the songs accompanied women when grinding wheat or milling spices. The grinding work lasted the whole night and the singing eased the very hard and boring work. Usually the songs were love songs that had very simple melodies and the women could add lines that lasted a long time and helped to pass the very long nights.

Example – melody of a song that Libyan women used to sing during night grinding

The song[26] says: we sat on the olive branch to sing; he said to her: you drive me crazy; when you open the window I can see you and I am lost.

SUMMARY

The two communities discussed here were very ancient Jewish communities that were remote and cut off from the other Jewish communities in the main cities of Morocco and Libya. Within these communities women's lives were very difficult and one way to ease the difficult life of work and home-life were the songs that accompanied the women's circle of life for hundreds of years: songs about marriage, birth, bar mitzvah, and death. Those songs were sung during the day and during the night when the women had worked all their lives. Apparently the repertoire of songs of women in the Atlas Mountains in Morocco and in north of the Sahara in Libya was very rich. However, when these communities immigrated to Israel in the fifties of the 20th century, these women were pushed outside the culture of the new state, because there were non-literate and their musical culture was considered by their children, the second generation growing up in the Israeli society, as inferior and not "cultural". The second generation, their children, really did not want to know anything about the culture of their mothers and grandmothers. The children were ashamed of their mothers who gave birth at the age of 12–13 and were illiterate. For this reason, some very large repertoires of women in both communities had been lost.

[26] Unintelligible singing pronunciation.

In the 1990s two projects of field work were conducted in Israel, in villages where groups of the two communities were settled. Old women of both communities were recorded, and some of the old repertoire of songs was documented. There is no doubt that a large repertoire of women's music of these communities had been lost during the 40-50 years when the material was not documented. Even after the recordings there has not been a systematic research of the old repertoires of women in these ancient communities of North Sahara. This article is an expression of recognition and respect for these women, whose lives were so difficult but their songs and music created by them accompanied their life from birth to death.

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ETHNOGENESIS AND ETHNOMORPHOSIS IN THE ETHNO-CULTURAL VARIABILITY OF ROMANIA*

MARIN CONSTANTIN

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the anthropological conceptualization of *ethnogenesis* and *ethnomorphosis* within various ethnographic contexts in contemporary Romania. Five ethnic groups are reported for their ethno-historical and folk-art traditions, namely Căldărars (Kalderash people), Saxons and Szekles (in South and Southeastern Transylvania), Rudars (in Northern Wallachia), and "Old-Belief" Lipovans (in Northern Dobroudja). Vernacular accounts mainly include the themes of *origin, historical icons and events, traditional social organization, mythology and folklore, folk medicine, craftsmanship, and folk cuisine*, each of them pointing to the cultural distinctiveness of the abovementioned ethno-linguistic communities, as well to their cross-cultural interpretation.

Keywords: ethnogenesis, ethnomorphosis, ethno-history, artisanship, ethnic groups.

INTRODUCTION AND CULTURAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

In a thematic relationship to the study of the ethno-cultural diversity in Romania and Southeastern Europe, and with a general research interest in the processes associated with the historical origins and ethnographic developments of ethnicity, I collected (in the summer of 2010) a number of 36 oral-history interviews among Căldărar (Kalderash), Lipovan, Rudar, Saxon, and Szekler interlocutors from with several ethno-linguistic groups in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Dobroudja. Except the small town of Cisnădie (Heltau) in the Sibiu County,

* **Acknowledgements**. My fieldwork among Căldărars, Lipovans, Rudars, Saxons, and Szeklers in Romania has been supported by the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research (through the *Supplemental Grant Program for Oral Literature*, for the project *Narratives of Ethnomorphosis among the Minority Ethnic Groups in Romania,* January 7, 2010). I express here my deep gratitude to the Firebird Foundation, as well as to my field interlocutors. This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Program "Human Resources Development" (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/89/1.5/S/59758.

where I interviewed members of local Saxon (German-speaking) community, the rest of groups live in rural areas, as follows: the Căldărar group (Romani speaking) of the Brateiu village, in the Sibiu County, the Lipovan group (Russian speaking) of the Jurilovca village, in the Tulcea County, the Rudar group (Romanian speaking, but officially associated with the Roma ethnicity) of the Băbeni village, in the Vâlcea County, the Saxon group (German speaking) of the Cisnădioara (Michelsberg), in the Sibiu County, and the Szekler group (Hungarian-speaking) of the Corund (Korond) village, in the Harghita County[1].

Within their accounts, my informants mention a series of data of *historical* relevance that are to be organized into several subfields including *origin*, *historical icons and events*, *traditional social organization*, *mythology and folklore*, and *folk medicine*. As will be seen, not all these categories are equally represented among the ethnic groups in discussion, which, from a comparative viewpoint, is presumably significant for variability in the oral historicity of them. In the case of four minorities (Lipovan, Rudar, Saxon, and Szekler), literacy is obviously a major factor in the making and shaping of a deeper historical knowledge, open to ideological distortions of the native discourse about the past. However, before any attempt to reconstitute the "historical truth" of one or another ethnic group, the scope of my inquiry is to describe and interpret vernacular peculiarities in remembering, emphasizing, filtering, or simply conceiving of one's own *ethnic tradition*.

Among the five ethnic groups here concerned, folk crafts and traditional occupations are still effective with primarily economic functions and also with a symbolical relevance in asserting local cultural identities. Except for the straw knitting (in Saxon Michelsberg), all the other professional branches of minorities are (to different degrees) integrated into the contemporary market economy in Romania, as follows: pottery and tinder processing (the Szeklers from Korond), weaving (the Saxons in Heltau), copper processing (the Căldărars in Brateiu), woodcarving (the Rudars in Băbeni), and fishing (the Lipovans in Jurilovca). While the Szeklers, the Căldărars, and the Rudars usually trade their artifacts within "folk-art" fairs from cities like Sibiu, Constanța, and Bucharest, the Lipovans need to subordinate their fishing activities to the "biodiversity" policies promoted by the Romanian state within the Danube Delta "Biosphere Reserve". After 1990, the industry of tourism has particularly shaped the Szekler and Rudar artisanship, as well as the Lipovan fishing.

Cultural belongingness among the minority groups in Romania is also thought in terms of folk gastronomy and cookery dishes which, from case to case,

[1] Of the recent Romanian anthropological literature regarding the abovementioned ethnic groups, see Şerban 2000, 2004, 2009, Şerban, Dorondel 1999–2000, Töhötöm 2004, Constantin 2004, 2011 (about Magyars), Schiltz 2003, Sedler 2005, Constantin 2011 (about Germans), Ipatiov 2001, Capoţi et al. 2009, Titov 2009, Constantin 2011 (about Lipovans), Tesar 2006, Dorondel 2007, Constantin 2011 (about Rudari), Hasdeu 2004, Flenchea 2009, Constantin 2011 (about Căldărari).

are preserved, experienced, rediscovered, and ethnically appropriated. In what follows, three culinary specialties – *hanklich*, *kürtős kalács,* and *borshi sribi* – are accounted for their ethnic representativeness within the community life of the Saxons, the Szeklers, and the Lipovans, respectively. As will be seen, a series of variables are associated with the above-mentioned ethno-cuisine, mainly including the traditional background, the community contextualization, and the interethnic relationships.

ORIGIN AND TRANSFORMATION OF ETHNICITY IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

Anthropological literature constantly undertakes the historical facts associated with the making of ethnic "groups", "networks", or "identities" in historical or evolutionary perspectives, which is to question the manner in which *ethnogenesis* takes place "once upon the time", with definitive cultural and social "outcomes".

For instance, the existence of a "genetic [common] background" between Basques and Caucasians, as dated back to the Upper Paleolithic, alongside the "¼" etymological similarities between the two ethnicities, should not to be interpreted as the Basque evolution in a „monoethnic or monocultural environment"; indeed, the Aquitanian and Iberian linguistic influences, as well as the Basque-Latin bilingualism and Roman acculturation, are to be considered in describing the Basque ethnogenesis[2].

Likewise, the birth of Arawak ethnic formations during the first millennium BC (as based on the archeological evidences of local ceramic styles) is to be seen in the larger context of Arawak „patterns of expansion" over further linguistic groups in the areas of Orinoco, Rio Negro and Northwestern Amazon, which argues on the "reinterpretation" of a great part of prehistoric Amazon as a "regional socio-economic system"[3].

While the Slovak ethnogenesis is ascribed an "ethnic territory", it is explained as a "gradual development of a ethnic awareness", in "two phases" (in the tenth and eleventh centuries) during which the formation of a local "distinct ethno-cultural unit" was followed by the incorporation of neighboring foreign communities[4].

In spite of the usage of the *Maya* terms in the Spanish colonial Yucatán (as a toponym and rarely with local socio-cultural references, such as "Maya priests"), the native cultural identity was rather restricted to local villages (the *cah*), without integrating all the peninsular communities; in fact, the development of a Maya

[2] Haarmann 1998: 30–35.
[3] Hornborg 2005: 593–605.
[4] Marsina 1997: 20.

"open ethnicity" will become effective no sooner than in the nineteenth century, with the ethno-political implications of the Maya *vs.* Spanish conflict[5].

Based on a "Puebloness" initially established by the Spaniards to subordinate culturally-distinct indigenous communities, a "pan-ethnic resistance movement" developed in the late seventeenth-century New Mexico against the Spanish colonization; facts interpreted as relevant for "a new form of historical consciousness", such as revitalizing traditional ceremonies, rebuilding religious facilities, reinvesting local "archetypical" village architecture, and prevailing Pan-Pueblo identity over local genealogical relations – have been described as a "rich historical context for the study of ethnogenesis" and "part of the historical processes that still give meaning to the Pueblo world today"[6].

To highlight such "cinematic" and variable properties of ethnicity, the notion of *ethnomophosis* has been explicitly introduced as the very historical condition of the "ethnogenetic" *primum movens*. According to Ph.L. Kohl, "Ethnogenesis is only a relatively minor matter associated with the beginnings or initial formation of a given ethnic group; more significant and more complex are the changes that group will experience over time – its ethnomorphosis"[7]. Relevance of Kohl's distinction is indeed verifiable in all the above mentioned "ethnogenetic" circumstances, with acculturation (Basque), patterns of [trading] expansion (Arawak), incorporation of foreign cultures (Slovak), ethno-political development (Maya), and cultural revitalization (Pueblo) as temporal changing frames of one or another ethnic foundational scenario. It is not only the "latency" (rather than the "fulguration") of *ethnogenesis* that is emphasized within the "ethno-morphological" heuristics, but mostly its transformative nature, which is to question after all the completeness (if ever actual) of the ethnic *formation*. In addition, *ethnomorphosis* appears (in its turn) to conceptually reinvest "groupism" in thinking the ethno-cultural phenomena, while, beyond polymorphic bounded groups (*in statu nascendi* or already founded), ethnicity "takes place" through various and relational "categories, schemas, encounters, identifications, languages, stories, institutions, organizations, networks, and events"[8].

ETHNO-HISTORIES OF THE CĂLDĂRARS, LIPOVANS, RUDARS, SAXONS, AND SZEKLERS

Among Lipovans, Saxons, and Szeklers, *origin* is a theme related to the beginnings of one's group and village as well. Beyond of what my interlocutors say about the ancestry of their ethnic belongingness, they are particularly concerned with the moments and circumstances in the past of their own village-community.

[5] Restall 2004: 73–74, 82–89.
[6] Preucel et al. 2002, 82–85, 87–89.
[7] Kohl 1998: 232.
[8] Brubaker 2004: 2, 27.

Due to political persecutions of the "Old-Belief" Orthodoxy, the Lipovan exodus from Russia is approximated (by S32) "about the years of 1636–1645", with narrative details on this minority's "late Slavic Christianization" (S34) and dramatic passage of the Volga River (S29). The Szeklers evoke the [eighth-to-ninth centuries] migration of Hungarians "from Asia" to the "Carpathian areas" (S22, S19, S14), while, at the same time, the same group is presented as a "tribe" distinct from the Magyars (S19). The "first colonization" of Saxons in Transylvania is dated back to the "thirteenth century", in the context of "*the crusade movement to the Holy Land*", which would possibly be equated with the motif of *Kreutzritter* of the ceramic plaques from Michelsberg (S40). (Similar representations of medieval knights appear in the Szekler pottery of S14)[9].

"Village" (as an ethnic "primeval" establishment) is associated with the eponymy of founding ancestors or spiritual patrons (*Jurban* in Lipovan Jurilovca, cf. S29, S32; *Saint Michael* in Saxon Michelsberg, cf. S40). The Szekler Korond is mythically derived (by S19) from the tradition of *Stag* representations in the local folk-arts of pottery and woodcarving. One way or another, the village foundations are drawn from ecclesial contexts: "*congregation of six smaller hamlets around the local Catholic church* [...] *about 700 years ago*" in Korond (S19), "*the* [Catholic *thirteenth-century*] *citadel of St. Michael*" in Michelsberg (S40), and "*the smaller* [Orthodox ancient-rite] *church* [...] *about 1640–1645*" in Jurilovca (S32).

In ethnic minorities' narratives, *historical icons and events* testify for the group destiny through time, as particularly lived amidst, or together with, foreign ethno-cultural communities. Expectedly, such historicity is neither homogeneous, nor stereotypical – from one ethno-linguistic community to another. However variable in their form or content, ethno-histories are generally to be read as *contemporary* accounts and interpretations of cultural identities and their temporally-situated rootedness.

In Korond, the Hun ruler *Attila* is said to have actually been "the ancient chief of the Szekler tribe", at the moment of their arrival in the "Eastern Carpathians", as well as during the "Szekler" incursion to Italy, "up to the Pope"; the same informant (S19) describes the attributes of further Magyar ancestral leaders, including "*Árpád, the greatest... chieftain of the Magyars*" "*Szörény, one of those brave* [Magyar] *men who passed the Carpathians*", "*Bendegüz, one of the bravest Magyar chieftains, when the Magyars came over here, and the Near East*

[9] In another Lipovan village from the Danube Delta area, Carcaliu, the native people's migration from Russia (because of the same religious conflict) is dated back to "about 1650" (Capoţi et al. 2009: 81). Oral-history narratives from the Szekler village of Zabola (Harghita County, in Transylvania) still evoke military and noblemen's local traditions from the seventeenth century (Şerban, Dorondel 1999–2000: 193–196). In comparison with the Saxons and their ancient medieval origin in Southern Transylvania, another German group in the same area – the *Landlers* – preserves much more recent ethno-historical accounts, as contextualized within the 250-year celebration (in 1984) of the Habsburg politics of Austrian protestants deportation to the South Transylvanian villages of Apoldu de Sus, Cristian, and Turnişor (Sedler 2005: 199).

was attacked", etc., all of which as daily names of the *Naptár*, i.e. a calendar (edited by the *Magyarturánalapítvány* [The Magyar-Turanian Foundation]). Likewise, (the Hungarian) *King Saint Stefan* is presented as having "*told the Magyars* [including the Szekler Korond] *that every six villages should build their church*". In the Korond pottery, the Hungarian ethnogenesis is painted as the "royal hunt" of a mythical stag (*szarvas*) by the King *Saint Ladislau* (S26; S22). According to the *Szekler Hymn*, another king – *Csaba* – would lead the Szeklers "to the victory", with their pray to God "not to allow Transylvania to be lost" (S17).

In their tradition, the Saxons from Michelsberg speak of the *Magister Gozelinus*, who, in association with "the Saxon first colonization of Sibiu [in Transylvania], in the thirteenth century", was "the first landlord having been rewarded by the King of Hungary" (S40). In local historical terms, "*The citadel of Michelsberg was built by the Order of Cisterciensers, a warrior community, with several properties in the Braşov hinterland*, [which, because of politics] *was to be banished from* [the Kingdom of] *Hungary*" (S42). The recent past of Transylvanian Saxons is still "lived" with the names of German soldiers dead during the Great War (as engraved on the walls of the Michelsberg "Citadel" Church), as well as with memories about the Soviet Russian occupation of Heltau, in 1944–1945 (S37), and about the postwar deportation of local Germans to Russia (S37; S38).

Further information on the WW II deportation experience is provided by the Roma accounts of the Căldărars, whose "elders" would have thus been led, together with a group of German soldiers, to the region of Transnistria (Western Ukraine). During their Russian "imprisonment", the Căldărars coped with "starvation" (S7), "labor camp torments", "beating", "typhoid fever" (S6), and even "execution" (S8, S9, S6); much of the Roma's golden and silver adornments were lost with their 1944–1949 exile from Romania. While the Roma war memories are recurrently related to General Ion Antonescu (Romania's leader in 1940–1944), the Căldărars' recent history about the socialist Romania points out the authority of President Nicolae Ceau□escu (1965–1989). In socialism, the Căldărars' craft (coppersmithing) was not allowed for trading revenues, because of which they needed to work "in secrecy" (as hidden in woods) or to move from village to village (S8, S9, S6). As to the Roma nomadic lifestyle (with huts transiently set up at the margin of villages, and with the trade of pigs and horses), it is generically and probably irreversibly dated "back to the past" (S8, S6).

According to their narratives, the Rudars categorically deny to ethnically belonging to the Roma (with which they are ordinarily associated by Romanian authorities or public opinion), and clearly insist on not to be confused with Roma groups (like the *Ursars*, etc.); instead, the Rudars argue on their "relatedness" with Romanians, even based on a hypothetical "Dacian" ancestry (S2; S3). In their turn, they bear in mind the figure of President Ceauşescu and the economic regime of Romanian socialism, with particular emphasis on the local *Folk Art* cooperative

and its productive framework (including working quotas, salaries and seniority rights, raw material supply and export of products to countries like Germany, Italy, and Slovenia (S4; S3). Above all, the *Folk Art* village production unit would have crucially contributed to the survival of woodcarving among Rudars (S2). "In the past" (which, in this case, is given no chronological or historical precise coordinates), the Rudars situate their nomadism and familiarity with "river shores", "woods", and "grazing fields", as a "natural" location for their craftwork and herding; the *Rudar* ethnicon itself is explained as presumptively derived from the Romanian word for "river" (*râu*) (S3).

Among Lipovans, the historical past is recurrently referred to the Middle-Age migration of this group from Russia, namely the "time of *patiomka*, when rich and poor fought with each other because of religion" (S29). Because of the *veraharenia* (Russian religious persecution), the Old-Belief Lipovans are said to have spread "everywhere in the world", in countries such as Canada, China, and Australia (S32). Important personalities like the Russian Patriarch Nikon (1653–1656), the main advocate of the seventeenth-century reform (in accord with the Greek model) of Orthodoxy in Russia, and his opponent Archpriest Avaacum are central within such retrospection of the Lipovans' ethnical, political, and religious rupture from the Russian society; "the passions" of Archpriest Avaacum (now sanctified) and those of Nun Bairameea appear here to have been founding for the birth of the *Lipovan* ethno-religious identity (S32). Witnessing substantiations for the Lipovan ethnicity and its medieval origination are the preservation of the local archaic language (when compared to Russian) "like 300 years ago" (S34), the ritual male physiognomy (long hairs and beards), and (until recently) the group endogamy (S29, S32). From their recent past, the Lipovans remember the German military presence in the Danube Delta area (during the Worlds War II), and then the coming of Soviet Army, with memories about Stalin's repression against the sabotage actions of his own generals; "Stalinist law" is the euphemism for the Russian occupation of Romania (1944–1958), also including the Soviet reorganization of the local fish distribution (S30)[10].

Social organization (as an ethno-historical dimension) does concern traditional institutions of the past as well as community bodies belonging to the "recent" or even "living" history of minority groups in Romania. In some cases

[10] Religion is often reported as a basic resource for group identity among various minorities in Romania. The Romano-Catholic group of (Hungarian partially-speaking) *Csangos* from Eastern Moldavia still preserve folk legends about their village origins, as related either to the Prince of Moldavia, Stephen the Great (1457–1504), or to Holy Stephen I, King of Hungary between 997–1038 (Şerban 2009: 54–55). *Kirckweich*, as a commemoration of the 1868 rebuilding of the local Romano-Catholic church, has become an ethnic celebration for the German group of *Schwaben*, Crişana (Western Romania) (Chelcea, Lăţea 2000: 79–80). The Rudar woodcarvers from the village of Dragomireşti (Argeş County, South of Romanian Carpathians) are reported to explain the hardships of their work through an etiological legend about the "culpability" of their ancestors in relation to the Crucifixion of Jesus (Dorondel 2007).

(the Saxon and the Căldărar), the ethnic groups preserve or simply "memorialize" certain consuetudinary assemblies from their social history, which they contrast to contemporary "individualized" society. In other cases, with the "teamwork" (the Lipovan) or even "guild-like" (the Szekler) organizational structures, ethnicity is adapted to modern professional frameworks.

In the Saxon memory, *Nachbarschaft* was (until the late 1980s) an ethnic village organization, on territorial basis, including 60–70 members (or at times even more) and their leadership (*Nachbarvater* and his council) and written regulations of public behavior, with "neighbors'" mutual aid in constructions and during the rites of passage, etc. (S40, S42, S37, S39). Six such *Neighborhoods* in Michelsberg and four others in Heltau are mentioned to have functioned in socialist Romania (S36, S42). As married people's associations, *Nachbarschaften* were preceded by the reunions of teenagers – *Bruderschaften* and *Swesterschaften* –, which, through the ritual of *Confirmation*, came to integrate the *Sachsen* young people into the Lutheran Church and the local adult society as a whole (S40). In fact, each *Nachbarschaft* played a crucial role in the public communication between the Evangelical Church and the Saxon village community, with the Lutheran priests as "neighbors" (S36, S39), and with everyone's place in the Lutheran Church *and* in the *Nachbarschaft* organization (S40, S42). Ancientness of *Nachbarschaften* as a "pattern of the past" is estimated at "hundreds of years" (S42, S40); their ritual correlation with the *Ritters* (young horsemen, wearing local folk costumes, during each February Carnival festivities of *Fasching*), which are ethno-historically related to the *Cistercienser* Knights Order (S42), may be seen as an ethnographic evidence for the medieval origins of the South-Transylvanian Saxon "Neighborhoods".

According to the Căldărars' accounts, *Kris* was a sort of "gathering from the past" (S6), meaning simultaneously a "court", a "trial", and an "agreement" having been held and convened "in someone's courtyard", "in the street", or "in the village hostel" (S7, S8). Such traditional court (consisting of a quorum of 5–12 older members, and also younger participants) proceeded "to seek for the truth and the guilty" usually in cases of marriage arrangements, family-life divergences, and divorces (S8, S7, S6). *Kris* (sometimes also mentioned as the *stabor*) practically worked as a "consulting" and "conciliatory" reunion in order to set an agreement of the in-laws and their lineages; the proven guilty was asked to pay material compensations, and all the Căldărar community respected the decisions made there. The *kris* aka *stabor* meetings took place on the approval of local municipality and police, as the Căldărars claim they "respect the Romanian national law" and that would have accepted Romanians to witness during the "trials"; however, *Kris* was held "at the village border" just to avoid "so many witnesses" (S12).

Among Lipovans, fishing was strictly organized into "brigades" of 12–22 members (S35), depending of the size of boats – *lotca* and *mahuna* –, and led by an *ataman*. The fishing brigades were usually composed by Lipovans, given their

traditional specialization in such work; Romanian fishermen were also accepted (S28), but not easy as they are said to be "undisciplined", not so "cold resistant", and not knowing the Russian language (S30). In the 1950s, Lipovan women were included into the brigades, due to the local needs for labor force (S30). Fishing and the membership within the brigades were practically inherited, from "father-to-son" (S30, S28); boats and nets were similarly transmitted between the generations (S29).

The Szekler ceramists from Korond recently (2006) set up their craft association, the *Eletfa* ("The Life Tree"), of "23 or 24" members, all local people doing pottery or clay-statues shaping (S21). *Eletfa* has its president (S14), a secretary, membership fees, and periodical meetings; it is planned to represent the interests of local Szekler craftsmen, and is explicitly opposed (in social and economic terms) to the prior-to1989 socialist craft cooperative from Korond. Beginning with 2007, in collaboration with the local municipality, the Korond pottery association is constantly organizing a local artisanship fair.

Further information regarding the social organization among the ethnic groups here concerned is less consistent. Exogamy is said to be only a recent practice among Saxons in Heltau (S42), Rudars in Băbeni (S2, S1), and Lipovans in Jurilovca (S29, S32). In the carving of some larger wooden troughs, the Rudars from Băbeni used in the past to organize themselves into a working team called *claca* (S3). The *bulibasha* is described as the traditional leader of the Căldărar community; it was the *bulibasha* who – "like a judge" – convened the *Kris* and made the concluding decisions within it (S9, S6); though the *bulibasha* is remembered to have coordinated the Căldărar nomadic life and the Căldărar return from their Russian deportation (S6), his authority is now weak, all the more he is "no longer able to judge with his mind" and "to say beautiful and intelligible words" (S8, S7); after all, each family is nowadays claimed to follow its own *bulibasha* (S8)[11].

Mythology and folklore are subsidiary fields of ethno-historicity, to the extent they contribute to local understanding of a given community-shared past. Such "contribution" may include legendary explanations of one's ethnic origins or developments, descriptions of traditional rituals, and elements of folk symbolism. One way or another, the legends, the rituals, and the symbols come to be inscribed

[11] The Saxon *Nachbarschaften* village associations, as well as the Magyar *Kalandos* and Neighborhood communities (as reported in Transylvanian localities of Sibiu, Cluj, Braşov, Sighişoara, Archita, etc., among Saxons; Dej, Cluj, Zalău, Albeşti Jimbor, Hălmeag, Tonciu, etc. – among Magyars) have been described with their medieval interweaving with the Church (Lutheran, among Saxons; Romano-Catholic, and Calvinist, among Magyars) and with the urban guilds; the Saxon and Magyar Neighborhoods kept century-old written statutes, such as the Saxon *Nachbarschaft* in Archita, with its statute from 1668, and the Magyar vicinal association in Zalău, whose statute dated back to 1730) (Pozsony 2003: 16–18, 21, 29, 33, 35–38, 42–43). For the *Kris* institution among Căldărars in the village of "Căleni", Southern Wallachia, see Hasdeu 2004: 308; the authority of *bulibasha* is maintained among the Roma groups in the village of Zabola (Şerban 2000) and in the town of Roman, Moldavia (Flenchea 2009).

within oral "storylines", which interweave with remote or recent (re)makings of ethnicity.

In the Szekler traditions, the ancient migration of Magyars from Asia to Europe is represented (in ceramics and in woodcarving) as a mythical hunt of the *Stag*, a sacred animal among this group "since 3000 years ago" (S14, S17, S26); in the past, the Hungarian name of such "crowned animal" – *Szarvas* – would have been invested with ritual interdictions (S14); further informants call the stag as *Mother of the Magyars* (S22), and even correlate the name of their village – *Korund* – to the rich herds of stags in local surrounding woods (S19) The stag is epically associated with the *Türül*, the fantastic bird "flying in front of the Hungarians, during their migration, under Arpad's chieftainship"; as such, the *Türül* comes before the stag and the Magyar horsemen (S14, S19). Additional ethno-mythological meaning is encountered in the ornamentation of ceramic and wooden artifacts, with the motifs of *Sun and Moon* as emblematically representing, together with the *Stag*, the *Szekelyfold* ("the Szekler County") (S26, S17). Of particular relevance, the *Szekler Rovásírás* – a runic-like style of writing, consisting of *jelek* (archaic "signs"), is claimed to be "as our ancestors wrote", and is still used for local administrative purposes (S26, S17, S19).

Among the Saxons of Michelsberg, the founding cult of Saint Michael is said to have nourished the local anthroponymical "800 years" tradition of giving the name *Michael* to each firstborn son (S40). Also in Michelsberg, the *Legend of round stones* (i.e., stones that young married people were asked to pick up to the hill of local citadel) would stem from local defensive needs against the Turkish and Tatar sieges during the Middle Age (S40). Within both the *Sachsen* communities of Michelsbeg and Heltau, the annual feast of the *Fasching* – is recurrently evoked with its *fanfare, folk costumes, party and* [public] *meals* (S39); actually, it was "specifically Saxon" with its "dancing music" and the (exclusive) use of German language (S42).

Some folk imagery can be outlined with respect to the Căldărar group, in terms of the usage of gold and silver in the body and clothing ornamentation (necklaces and brooches, coins worn in the hair); the Căldărars complain today about losing much of their traditional noble-metal wealth during the deportation they lived in Russia, after 1941 (S7, S8, S9). Among the Căldărar clothing items bearing particular social symbolism, head-kerchiefs are associated with the young girls' premarital status, as a mark of their engagement (S10, S11). In relation to their nomadic movements (in the past), also including the trade of horses (S8), the Căldărars continue to pay a great value to the horses they still hold "with no harness" (S6); the image of a horse head (*şerole graztesto*), as engraved into one of the copper cups made of S7, may be seen within such contextualization. Another folkloric pattern still effective among Căldărars (as experienced during my ethnography) is clairvoyance (S10, S11, S13).

In the life of Rudars from Băbeni, the ritual of *gurban* (as held on the days of Saint George and Ascension) is archetypically related to the biblical episode of Abraham and Isaac; the lamb sacrifice, which is said to be "just like in the Bible", takes place as a great community feast, with "large fires set to roast the lamb", with "polenta and wine", and "with the sacred willow leaf" – everything within "the purity of a large grassland" or in the "ancestral forest" (S4, S3, S5).

In the framework of their Orthodox "ancient rite", the Lipovans of Jurilovca have elaborated a complex religious symbolism in association with folk-weaving artifacts including, for instance, the *padrujnik* (the praying cushion) and the *lestorka* (collar worn during the church ceremonies). While the *padrujnik* is decorated with squares and triangles representing "the earth", "the apostles", and "the evangelists", the *lestorka* consists of triangles ("the evangelists" and "the evangelical learning") and berries ("the 33 years that Jesus Christ spent on the earth" and "the 38 weeks of the Mary's pregnancy"); the *lestorka* berries also stand for "the ladder that connects the earth to the heaven". Among Lipovans, folk clothing is still in use, as in the case of the women's wedding costume including the *sarica* (cloth with handmade embroidery), the *cofta* ("sack coat" type cloth), the *shupca* (the skirt), and the *chipchik* (head covering) (S34)[12].

Ethno-medicine is a subtheme that, along with the mythological and folkloric accounts, give shape to the customary "template" of ethnicity – as retrospectively referred to, and authenticated by, local traditions. Even if the traditional medical knowledge and praxis are only fragmentarily concerned within the current ethnography among the minority ethnic groups in Romania, they provide ethno-historical supplemental meanings on the existence and prestige of folk therapies and healers from the past. Besides, the traditional medicine is cross-culturally relevant as a resource for the ethnic distinctiveness of people belonging now to the "minority" condition.

Historical memory of grave epidemic circumstances is still vivid among Saxons (with the evocation of local medieval experiences with the *plague* and the *cholera*, cf. S40) and among Căldărars (with the tribulation of *typhoid fever* during their deportation to Russia, cf. S6). In another context, in the Szekler village of Korond, the tinder (*táplo*) craftsmanship processing went together with the usage of tinder "as a bandage", during the Great War and the World War II, as "it can stop bleeding and heal the wounds" (S23). According to a Rudar woodcarver (S2), willow which he uses in the making of salad plates and dishes, would contain "aspirin" (in fact, salicylic acid). In the Lipovan village of Jurilovca, a particular

[12] Folk costumes appear to play a conservative and representative role among the ethnic groups of Landlers in Southern Transylvania (Sedler 2005), Roma from Northern Dobrodja (Erolova 2010), and Lipovans from the town of Mahmudia (Eastern Romania) (Titov 2009). The Căldărars from the Căleni village are mentioned to continue their traditional clairvoyance and "charms" (as concerns the "reading of one's future" in play cards and even "working with the Devil", see Hasdeu 2004: 298, 300).

repertory of *Holy Virgin* wooden icons is called to be *bolesnaia*, which means "healing icon" (S33).

Also of ethno-medicinal significance is the narrative of S19 (Korond) about the *taltos*, "the Hungarian *shaman* before the clergy"; the *taltos* strongly impressed S19 with his "extraordinary science" (for example, clairvoyance), as well as with his techniques of "hypnosis" and "telepathy" – regardless of his "patient's ethnic identity"! S19 claims to have personally met one of the last Hungarian shamans (before their disappearance with the postwar communist regime in Romania).

With similar curative attributes, "an aged man" or "elder" of the Rudar community used to officiate "as a priest" during the *gurban* sacrificial ritual; he did assist ill people there, by taking first "a pot of wine and a morsel of roasted lamb", and praying then three times to the "saints" to come "quietly like the waters and sweetly like the honey" and remember "the name of the ill" in order to "give all the health and strength to him, and the virtue in his bones". According to Rudar accounts, "lots of people got healed thanks to such sacrifice of the lamb" (S3)[13].

FOLK ARTS AND TRADITIONAL CUISINE AMONG CĂLDĂRARS, LIPOVANS, RUDARS, SAXONS, AND SZEKLERS

In the eighteenth-century Korond, local potters used to adorn their ceramic plaques with green enamel; they will rediscover this technique after 1910. However, while in the past the Szekler craftsmen's enamel was made of plumb (which they imported from Northern Transylvania), later on the same ornamentation became based on "boric acid and silicone" (S18). The enamel-decorated ceramic plaques made by S15 (whose "family-tradition" in ceramics is claimed to last for "250 years") practically reconstitute "the Szekler traditional terracotta stoves", as retrospectively related to the Baratsky family from the Hungarian town of Keckskemet, in 1763. The Szekler ceramic ornamentation is based on the double-burning process, with the combination of local grey clay (kaolin) and the dye of blue (cobalt), in compositions with vegetal chromatic pigments of green, yellow, and brown (S26). Alongside the more-or-less recurrent ethno-historical motifs of the *Stag*, *Bird Türül*, and *Sun and Moon*, the Korond pottery ornamentation also includes themes like the *Taltos* ["The Hungarian Shaman"] (S14), *Life Tree* (ArP), and the *Szekler folk wedding* (S22). Brown clay is similarly present in Korond pottery; as "resistant in the pottery-kiln burning", it serves to the making of domestic-usage plates, pitchers, and earthen pots for boiling "forcemeat rolls of cabbage (S17). In one case (S18), the local ceramic development is recognized some (Middle-Age) interference with the Saxon pottery.

[13] *Gurban*, as a sacrificial ritual, is generalized among the Rudars and Roma groups in Romania and Southeastern Europe (see Bocev 2007, Halili 2007, Kovalcsik 2007, Marushiakova, Popov 2007, etc.).

Another traditional craft in Korond, tinder (*tapló*) processing, requires a strict seasonally-planned gathering of the "raw material" in woods (as taking place in July and August), which is followed by its storage in winter, in order to "homogenize" and become good for making artifacts such as folk hats and bags, towels, miniature "cassettes", etc. (S23). Similarly to pottery, tinder processing is originated back to medieval times ("220 years ago"), in association with the founding figure of shepherd *Bonzoboli Bacs*. Today's tinder craftsmen (S23, S20) uphold the "Korond uniqueness" in Romania. The *Stag* is an ornamental motif which is also encountered in the tinder processing, as well as further images inspired from the local-environment flora (*Daisies, Edelweiss*) and fauna (*Bear, Squirrel*) (S23, S20).

Kürtős kalács is said to usually be cooked "in each Szekler village in the [South Transylvanian] areas of Mureş and Odorhei", unlike the neighboring Romanian cuisine, in which it is encountered to a lesser extent (S25). As baked of flour, yeast, water, and caramelized sugar, cinnamon, or still coconuts, such "Hungarian cake" is defined to be "traditional" depending on his local provenance and way of preparation (including, for instance, sugar as the "original" sweetener). While in the past, *kürtős kalács* was cooked during holidays, now it accompanies the important tourist development of Korond village. With a touristic fair taking place nearby, the Romano-Catholic church in Korond uses to order several dozens of *kürtős kalács* pieces (S25). Local municipality is also involved in the market development of *kürtős kalács* (by offering terrain for new-bakery opening, as a family enterprise). Successful trading requires maintaining the appropriate size and weight of the each *kürtőskalács* piece (S25).

Straw-making would "belong to the Saxons, but in Michelsberg only, not in the rest of our region" (S39). In the past, it was regularly passed on from one's "grandmother" to her "mother", and so on; artifacts like the peasant hats and door mats were sold within local folk fairs. As simply consisting of knitting locally-collected straw into "zigzag" decorative models, such a craft is nowadays mostly maintained as a tourist attraction for visitors coming from Germany.

According to my interlocutors, *hanklich* is "the most valuable and appreciated thing that a Saxon peasant could afford for a festivity" (S40, S38). *Hanklich* is also reported to be cooked by Romanians (who call it as *henclesh*) from the village of Elzen (Alțâna, also in Southern Transylvania), where they live together with a small Saxon community. This traditional pudding (made of flour, yeast, eggs, water, salt, butter, lemons, cream, and cheese or fruit jam) was in the past a cooking accessory of *Sachsen* rites of baptism, wedding, and funeral. Life-story narratives of S41 and S39 clearly illustrate the manner in which the young marring couple was publicly expected to bake and serve the *hanklich* for the guests, and still how one of the last wishes of a dying old person was including the *hanklich* among her funeral commemorative offerings. In practice, the cooking of *hanklich* was a joint work within the *Nachbarschaft* (S40), with the needed wood

ritually collected in the forest, and with all the "neighbors" sharing the meal. Nowadays, though the *hanklich* is "the same as in childhood", it is actually cooked "in many varieties", as a touristic flavor "synonymous" with the Saxon cuisine itself, since "no souvenir is as good as a piece of *hanklich*" (S40). In particular, the *hanklich* specialties currently address Saxons' relatives from Germany, during their periodical returns to Transylvania.

Another craft still encountered among the South-Transylvanian Saxons (this time in the town of Heltau) is folk weaving by the horizontal loom; local artifacts, such as table-cloths, blouse cloths, wallets, and pillows are all woven with "Saxon traditional motifs", including "environmentally-inspired" ones ("flowers", "leaves"...) and also "geometrical flowers". The weaving loom (with its pedals, "pendulum", shuttle, and handles) is claimed "to bear the imprint of one's [Saxon] identity", with, for instance, tissues representing "strict German" local churches, and sold to German visitors nowadays returning to their "ancestral crafts" (S41).

Coppersmithing is a craft whose name equally designates in Romania the Căldărars' group, professional, and personal identity, as derived from *căldare* (copper-made domestic container). Ancientness of the Căldărars's handicraft (also defined as *cuprăria*, or the "copper work") is estimated by S7 to "450 years", with engraved personal or family trademarks or monograms which are presumed to be recognized within even "200 years" (S7). Current practitioners claim not using any "pressing machine", but only relying on their "eye" and "hand palm-based" handwork. Tools like the hummer, the scissors, and the compass are basic in doing such craft, with the making of a given artifact (e.g. a cup or an alembic) "from a single piece of copper". The centimeter-size of one's hand palm ("26 centimeters", in S7 case) is said to be the mark for measuring and determining the "symmetry" of his in-process artifacts. Based on their "unique craftwork", the Căldărars distinguish themselves from the Roma group of the *Gabors*, in Southern Transylvania), as well as from *Kalderash* people in Europe who need to assemble "three parts of a copper lamina" in order to make their "wine pots". Intergenerational transmitting of copper-processing techniques is a constant characteristic of the Căldărars' craft specialization (S7, S8, S6).

Among the Rudars in Băbeni, the "art of woodcarving" first requires to know the wood species and their practical application: while the willow is "the best in the making of a salad plate", the poplar is proper for the making of troughs, and the lime is suited for spoons (S2). The Băbeni artisans claim to constitute the most specialized woodcarving centre among Rudars in Romania (in comparison with co-ethnic groups like those of Islaz, Izbiceni, and Pârâieni)(S2, S3). The "father-to-son" heritage and early Rudar enculturation are decisive in learning such craftsmanship, with important individual differences in the "working style" and "phases" of handling tools like the hatchet and the bass, and also in one's "God's giftedness [as his/her skillfulness in the craft]" (S2, S1, S3). The making of a small wooden pot – the *găvan* – is said to represent a sort of initial working phase for the capacity of manufacturing further artifacts like the troughs and chairs (S5). Handwork is what allows the woodcarvers to recognize their own artifacts from others (S3).

The Lipovan fishermen continue to use during their work some traditional boats, from the smaller ones – the *lotci*, in the Danube-Delta fishing – to the larger marine ones, or the *mahune*, which are driven in the Black Sea by teams of 12 to 22 members (S28, S35). Fishing is transmitted from generation to generation, with one's parents or uncles participating to the same teamwork, as seasonally organized in summer and in autumn, after the spring fish prohibition (S30, S28). Some informants (S32, S29) argue on the ancestral ethnic specialization of Lipovans in fishing; other viewpoints (S28, S27, S31), however, describe the local contemporary fishing in terms of Lipovans' joint enterprise with Romanians and Ukrainians. Depending on their size, as targeting various fish species, the main local fishing nets are the so-called *setci* (narrowed nets, presently blamed for killing the younger fish as well as local bird species) and the *daliene* (larger nets, as better-sized for the survival of younger fish, during the two or three days of its captivity, before to be released, in accordance with the law prescriptions) (S28). The Jurilovca fishermen (S28, S30, S31) complain about the current dramatic diminution of local species of fish (*pike perch, carp, crucian, roach, and the perch*) and birds (*bald coots, ducks, and gooses*); poaching is particularly incriminated as contravening to the official legislation implemented by the Danube Delta Bioshpere Reserve, as well as to the (customary) "[Razim] lake rule" (S31, S28).

Borshi sribi is a broth originally cooked by Lipovanian fishermen, when returning from their deltaic or marine fishing sessions; though currently adopted by Romanians and Bulgarians that live in the vicinity of Lipovan villagers, it tends to become a "rarity" with the new regime of state-administrated fishing within the Danube-Delta "Biosphere Reserve" (S27). Crucian, pike perch, and bream are among the fish species cooked for a *borshi sribi* "in the Lipovan style", and "*the more fish added, the tastier the broth*" (the fish heads and brain are particularly recommended); further ingredients are here onion and garlic (as "strictly necessary"), as well as tomatoes, potatoes, and pepper (as "optional"); finally, "*salt and vinegar are tastily added in, to harden the boiling fish*". Local rich diversity of fish species allows for preparing "all sorts of meals", including *cabbage-leaves meat rolls*, *stuffed peppers*, and *pumpkin with fish* (S27). Each October the 14th, which is the traditional day of Jurilovca village, in association with the celebration of Saint Paraskiva, local fish dishes are served, including dry fish, marinated fish, and smoked fish. In the past, the Lipovan fishermen of Jurilovca are remembered to have exchanged their fish surplus for farming products like the maize, the wheat, and the sunflower (S27)[14].

[14] For the ethnic identification and "materialization" of the Szekler pottery in Korond and the Rudar woodcarving in Băbeni, in terms of folk craftsmanship and artwork, see Constantin 2011; the Rudar specialization in wood processing and trading is similarly assessed by Şt. Dorondel (2007) with regard to the village of "Dragomireşti" (Argeş County). As concerns the relation between the traditional fishing and the market economy of ecotourism among Lipovans in the Danube Delta, see Bell et al. 2004. Another variety of Lipovan broth (the so-called *sci*), as based on meat and vegetables, is reported (with similar "traditional" prestige) in the village of Carcaliu (Capoţi et al. 2009: 85).

TOWARDS AN INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK OF ETHNICITY IN ROMANIA

To return to the theoretical background of our text, "ethnogenesis" may supposedly echo those Hungarian, German, Russian, and Roma folk narratives that seek to reproduce and restore a *specific* ancestry – legendary or historical, but equally persistent – among local ethnic communities. "Ethnomorphosis", instead, would potentially reflect cycles of events that are responsible for the same ethnic groups' social, economic, and cultural developments and trajectories, "after the fact" of their mythical or historical birth. Since the question is how variable is such dichotomy in the field, the practical scope of my research is to submit it to a twofold – ethno-historical and cross-cultural – validation.

In what follows, a synoptic table is represented with the narrative themes identified in the above-discussed ethnographic accounts; to the extent to which they are reported in the field, all the themes are specifically inscribed within "ethnic poles" of the five groups of *Căldărars*, *Lipovans*, *Rudars*, *Saxons*, and *Szeklers*. On such basis, each minority group is accounted for its own *ethno-historical trait distribution*, which can also be read as a traditionally-originated ethnic "story line".

Căldărars	**Lipovans**	**Rudars**	**Saxons**	**Szekles**
Narrative themes	*Narrative themes*	*Narrative themes*	*Narrative themes*	*Narrative themes*
past nomadism	Middle-Age religious persecution and migration	past nomadism	Middle-Age colonization	Middle-Age migration
past community (customary-law) organization	eponymy of a Middle-Age founding ancestor	recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy	eponymy of a Middle-Age founding ancestor and development of a local anthroponymical tradition	mythology of Middle-Age ethnic origins and archaic writing-style
postwar political persecution and deportation	Middle-Age ecclesial founding context	current healing sacrificial ritual, folk-medicine beliefs, practice, and specialists	Middle-Age ecclesial founding context	Middle-Age ecclesial founding context
past and current symbolical use of folk costume	Middle-Age religious leadership	craft-based intra-ethnic distinctiveness	Middle-Age military and nobility leadership	Middle-Age military and political leadership
current craft-based inter-ethnic distinctiveness	past and current symbolical use of folk costume	current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism	tradition of medieval crusades	tradition of medieval crusades

ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art	recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft	postwar political persecution and deportation	craft techniques based on Middle-Age founders; craft techniques based on Middle-Age founders and (Middle-Age) ethnic hybridization in craft
current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism	recent-past and present community professional organization		recent-past marital (re)orientation to exogamy	Middle-Age and recent-past folk-medicine knowledge, practice, and specialists
intergenerational (kin-based) transmission of craft	current craft-based inter-ethnic distinctiveness		recent-past community (vicinal) organization	current craft-based inter-ethnic distinctiveness
	folk-cookery within home- and-ecclesial current contexts		recent past folk cookery within community (vicinal) context; folk cookery within home current context	current community craftsmanship organization
	recent-past and present ethnic hybridization in craft		current craft-based ethnic distinctiveness	ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art
	current folk-medicine beliefs		ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art	folk-cookery within ecclesial current context
	current craft-orientation to the eco-tourism		current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism	current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism
	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft		folk-cookery current adaption to tourism	folk-cookery current adaption to tourism
			inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft

Within its intrinsic *curriculum*, each column practically contains ethno-historical archives, which are recorded, preserved, and transmitted according to autobiographic criteria of local storytelling and cultural memory. There is no doubt about *uniqueness* in each of the abovementioned ethnic "chronicles": all of them echo *typical* cultural trajectories in terms of either their "scenarios", or their *dramatis personae*, or both. Woodcarving and the healing sacrifice of *gurban* make the Rudars' lifestyle; *Nachbarschaften* and the *hanklich* are recognized marks of the Saxons' traditional community life; nomadism and copper craftsmanship have regularly shaped the Căldărar self-identification and public perception as well; the Lipovan ethno-cultural belongingness is deeply associated with the Orthodox-Old Belief and fishing; and, among Szeklers, it is pottery and folk mythology that are *ethnically* representative. To recapitulate the all the chapters of such "intra-specific" dramas, and to follow their narrative string *per se*, here are the content abstracts of each of them:

- *past nomadism, postwar political persecution and deportation, past customary-law community organization, past and current symbolical use of folk costume, current craft-based ethnic distinctiveness, ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art, inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft,* and *current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism* (Căldărars);
- *Middle-Age religious persecution and migration, eponymy of a Middle-Age founding ancestor, Middle Age ecclesial founding context, Middle Age religious leadership, past and current symbolical use of folk costume, past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy, recent-past and present community professional organization, recent current craft-based inter-ethnic distinctiveness, folk-cookery within home- and-ecclesial current contexts, recent-past and present ethnic hybridization in craft, current folk-medicine beliefs, current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism,* and *inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft* (Lipovans);
- *past nomadism, recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy, current healing sacrificial ritual, folk-medicine beliefs, practice, and specialists, current craft-based intra-ethnic distinctiveness, current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism,* and *inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft* (Rudars);
- *Middle-Age colonization, eponymy of a Middle-Age founding ancestor and development of a local anthroponymical tradition, Middle-Age ecclesial founding context, Middle-Age military and nobility leadership, tradition of medieval crusades, postwar political persecution and deportation, recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy, recent-past community (vicinal) organization, recent past folk cookery within community (vicinal) context, and folk cookery within home current context, current craft-based ethnic distinctiveness, ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art, current craft orientation to the folk-art tourism, folk-cookery current adaption to tourism,* and *inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft* (Saxons);

– *Middle-Age migration, mythology of Middle-Age ethnic origins and archaic writing-style, Middle-Age ecclesial founding context, Middle-Age military and political leadership, tradition of medieval crusades, craft techniques based on Middle-Age founders and (Middle-Age) ethnic hybridization in craft, Middle-Age and recent-past folk-medicine knowledge, practice, and specialists, current craft-based ethnic distinctiveness, current community craftsmanship organization, ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art, folk-cookery within ecclesial current context, current ethnic meaning of craft ornamentation, current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism, folk-cookery current adaption to tourism*, and *inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft* (Szeklers).

Beyond such vernacular retrospectives of the past in lineal ethno-historical tracking, the Căldărar, Lipovan, Rudar, Saxon, and Szekler narratives will now be scrutinized for another thematic arrangement, that of *cross-cultural trait distribution*, which, this time, is to be laterally interpreted, as a theoretically-inferred interethnic "configuration". While in the ethno-historical trait distribution, narrative themes appear to render variable reminiscences, episodes, and "ages" within apparently isolate ethnicities, in the cross-cultural trait distribution they are categorized within sequences of historical and ethnographic facts, corresponding from one ethnic group to another. Notwithstanding the originality and creativeness in living their own ethnicity, the Căldărar, Lipovan, Rudar, Saxon, or Szekler "authorship" over *their* narrative themes or cultural traits proves to constantly be convertible into clusters of intercultural equivalencies.

Căldărar	**Lipovan**	**Rudar**	**Saxon**	**Szekler**
Narrative themes				
	Middle-Age religious persecution and migration		Middle-Age colonization	Middle-Age migration
past nomadism		past nomadism		
	eponymy of a Middle-Age founding ancestor		eponymy of a Middle-Age founding ancestor and development of a local anthroponymical tradition	mythology of Middle-Age ethnic origins and archaic writing-style
	Middle-Age ecclesial founding context		Middle-Age ecclesial founding context	Middle-Age ecclesial founding context
	Middle-Age religious leadership		Middle-Age military and nobility leadership	Middle-Age military and political leadership
			tradition of medieval crusades	tradition of medieval crusades

	recent-past and present ethnic hybridization in craft			craft techniques based on Middle-Age founders; craft techniques based on Middle-Age founders and (Middle-Age) ethnic hybridization in craft
	current folk-medicine beliefs	current healing sacrificial ritual, folk-medicine beliefs, practice, and specialists		Middle-Age and recent-past folk-medicine knowledge, practice, and specialists
past and current symbolical use of folk costume	past and current symbolical use of folk costume			
past community (customary-law) organization	recent-past and present community professional organization		recent-past community (vicinal) organization	current community craftsmanship organization
postwar political persecution and deportation			postwar political persecution and deportation	
	recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy	recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy	recent-past and current marital (re)orientation to exogamy	
	folk-cookery within home- and-ecclesial current contexts		recent past folk cookery within community (vicinal) context; folk cookery within home current context	folk-cookery within ecclesial current context
current craft-based intra-ethnic distinctiveness	current craft-based inter-ethnic distinctiveness	current craft-based intra-ethnic distinctiveness	current craft-based ethnic distinctiveness	current craft-based ethnic distinctiveness
ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art			ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art	ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art
current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism	current craft-orientation to the eco-tourism	current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism	current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism	current craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism
			folk-cookery current adaption to tourism	folk-cookery current adaption to tourism
inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft	inter-generational (kin-based) transmission of craft

From a cross-cultural viewpoint, historical similarities appear to bridge Middle-Age dated facts of *migration and colonization, ecclesial founding context*, and *religious, nobility, or political leadership* (in the past of Lipovans, Saxons, and Szeklers). Another foundational characteristic – that of the *past nomadism*, among Căldărars and Rudars – is rather a-historically remembered, within no identifiable chronological contexts). Further similar motifs occur in the ethno-histories of Lipovans, Saxons, and Szeklers (*eponymy* and *mythology of origins*), Saxons and Szeklers (*medieval-crusade tradition*), and *postwar political persecution and/or deportation* (Căldărars and Saxons).

Traditional (or contemporary elements of) *community organization* are reported in contexts of *customary-law* (Căldărar), *craft* (Lipovan, Szekler), and *vicinal* (Saxon) backgrounds, while a similitude in *exogamy* is established between Lipovan, Rudar, and Saxon.

Mythological and folk material-culture traits are shared by Lipovans, Rudars, and Szeklers (*folk medicine*) and by Căldărars and Lipovans (*folk costume*).

Folk cookery is similarly present in *home, community, and ecclesial* contexts (Lipovans, Saxons, and Szeklers), but also in *tourism adaptations* (among Saxons and Szeklers).

The folk artisanship is characteristic for the Căldărars and Saxons in *the ethnic meaning in the ornamentation of current folk art*, and even for the five ethnic groups in terms of *craft-based inter-ethnic distinctiveness*, *craft-orientation to the folk-art tourism*, and *inter-generational transmission of craft*.

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION: COLUMNS AND FRIEZES IN REPRESENTING *ETHNOGENESIS* AND *ETHNOMORPHOSIS*

In discussing accuracy of the *ethnogenesis* vs. *ethnomorphosis* conceptualization in anthropology, I have hypothesized the content of the ethnic narratives in Romania to generally be concerned with the issues of *ancestry* vs. *cultural development* in each particular tradition of ethnicity. Variability in vernacular *thematic* of narratives has appeared to account for our ethnography itself, but also for its perspectives of theoretical interpretation in "ethno-genetic" and/or "ethno-morphological" terms. To verify my hypothesis, and to approximate its explanatory potential, I have synthesized the narrative themes belonging to the Căldărar, Lipovan, Rudar, Saxon, and Szekler groups into two graphic representations, one of which *ethno-historical* and the other, *cross-cultural*.

The result is that, to my knowledge, *ethnogenesis* could reliably be seen as a "column" of various ethnic events and traditions, while, consistently as well, *ethnomorphosis* would illustrate "friezes" of equivalent intercultural processes and syntheses. Facts and traits such as the *ecclesial founding, folk medicine, community organization, exogamy, folk cookery,* and so on, may be ethnically felt as

exemplary, unforgettable, even miraculous, and that is why they become part of the eternal making of peoples. They come to be inscribed into their bearers' ethnic belongingness, as they are the substance of such belonging and its very character. It is not so much due to one given constituent, as to the *sequence* of several given constituents, that a given ethnicity is given birth, integrity, cultural memory, and history.

At the same time, the *ecclesial founding context, folk medicine, community organization, exogamy,* and *folk cookery* prove to be "exemplary", "unforgettable", or "miraculous" within other ethnic traditions and lifestyles, too. In doing so, they are not excluded from their initial and "eternal" ethnic belongingness, for each of them continues to be part of unique ethnic "sequences". Their cross-cultural configurations, however, are able to demonstrate another meaning along with that of local, idiosyncratic, and ethno-historical distributions. When undertaken among groups that live within one ethnographic area, or in neighboring regions, some narrative themes from stories of authenticated ethnic paternities, reveal itineraries of intercultural *relatedness*, which originate either in acculturative phenomena of multidirectional exchanges and influences, or in the synchronicity of historical processes, or in both of them.

It is in this sense that *ethnogenesis* and *ethnomorphosis* are, historically and culturally speaking, simultaneous. They practically contain the same categories of data – the only divergence is that of their sequential and lateral arrangement. More important, they could not be engaged into any theoretical competition "for the truth", as the study of ethnogenesis needs "ethno-morphological" evidences in order to (in)validate autochthony of ethnic "columns", while the study of ethnomorphosis needs "ethno-genetical" information with the aim of establishing (up)rootedness of interethnic "friezes".

Name initials of the ethnographic interlocutors

Babeni	**Brateiu**	**Korond**	**Jurilovca**	**Michelsberg** and **Heltau**
S1: Dumitru Ceacâru	S6: Anton Căldărar	S14: Agoston Pall	S27: Amfiţa Morunaş	S36: Anne Freulich
S2: Ion Drăgan	S7: Emilian Căldărar	S15: Arpad Pall	S28: Calistrat Gurei	S37: Kurt Fleischer
S3: Iordan Lepădatu	S8: Nicolae Căldărar	S16: Ilona Venczel	S29: Ecaterina Simion	S38: Emma Henning
S4: Lisandru Dobre	S9: Eva Căldărar	S17: Ferenc Balasz	S30: Ivan Fomici	S39: Maria Diör
S5: Viţa Lepădatu	S10: Maria Căldărar	S17: Imre Barna	S31: Ioan Rusu	S40: Michael Henning
	S11: Paraschiva Gabor	S18: Josza Janos	S32: Ilarion Simion	S41: Maria Schneider
	S12: Traian Căldărar	S19: Josza Lorincz	S33: Nichita Rufin	S42: Tom Binder
	S13: Saveta Căldărar	S20: Magdalena Fabian	S34: Paula Zaiţ	
		S21: Vajda Geza	S35: Sasha Fedor	
		S22: JL : Josza Laszlo		
		S23: Mathe Karoly		
		S24: Paul Ignaz		
		S25: Robert Lorincz		
		S26: Veronica Pall		

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ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPES IN DOBROGEA

LUCIAN DAVID

ABSTRACT

This article opens with some generalities about the meanings of the word landscape (geographical, cultural/ethnographical landscape). Geographically, Dobrogea – and here I refer to the Northern, major side, which belongs to Romania – is a mixture between old and new, with a very interesting ethnic and confessional components. Having a very rich, thus, favorable environment, the human being hallmarked the Dobrogea territory in complex ways: creating a variety of ethnographic landscapes. The paper describes in details several such humanly-framed landscapes: piscatorial, pastoral, viticultural, agrarian, sylvan, etc.

Keywords: Dobrogea, natural landscape, cultural landscape, ethnographic landscape, piscatorial landscape, pastoral landscape, viticultural landscape, agrarian landscape, arboreal landscape, sylvan landscape.

ON THE MEANINGS OF LANDSCAPE

Landscape, as concept, is nowadays defined and used by a multitude of disciplines (sciencies and humanities as well). As an academic acknowlegement, the term landscape was rather introduced by the fine arts. In paintings of the 17th and 18th century, the landscape was mainly a copy-reproduction of the physical nature. Afterwards, landscape developed other meanings and got to be used by geography, architecture, ecology, ethnology, medicine etc. Nowadays, syntagms such as natural landscape, anthropic landscape, cultural landscape, urban landscape etc., are numberless.

For the painter and the photographer, the landscape cannot be separated from the visual space from which they choose interesting aspects that produce esthetical impressions and emotions. The historian describes the landscape as a result of the cultural heritage of the previous rural and urban civilizations; the economist treats it as a source of raw material and goods. The medical industry is interested in studying the landscape due to its therapeutic potential. The ecologist sees the landscape as a support for life, different from the initial natural conditions, based on which the humans created a wide variety of habitats, and that made some species to emerge and adapt to the new condition and other disappear.

As an overview, for the ethnologist the ethnographic landscape looks like an enormous hydrographic basin, with springs, brooks and rivers that discharge in each other and all together discharge in the large mother-river – the traditional, folk culture.

The landscape has a variable spatial expansion, repeatable at planetary level, but non-recurring under all of its characteristic aspects, being original (containing an element that offers a dominant note). Because it is an open homogeneous system, between its elements there is always a change of matters, energy and information, which determines a certain physiognomy for a short or long period of time (Fig. 1). *It has a structural side, which might not be visible to anyone, though the result of the interactions and interrelations between the components will always result, as a feedback, in its noticeable side*[1].

At European level, the **cultural landscape** concept is more often presented as an inseparable fusion of nature and culture. As a part of the cultural landscape, the ethnologic landscape consists of two sections: ethnographic landscape and folkloric landscape.

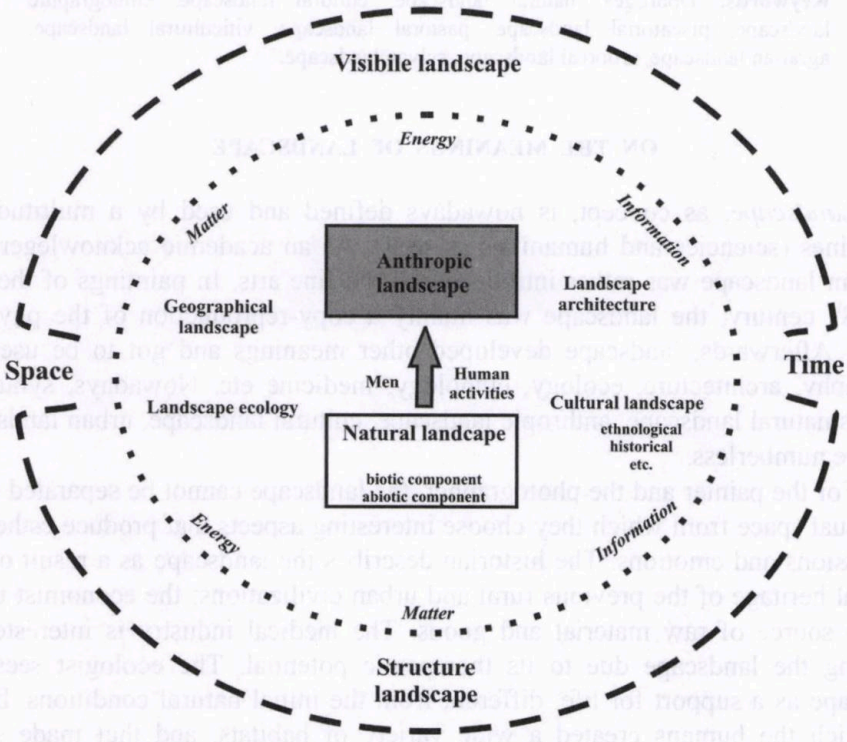


Fig. 1 – Analytical structure of the landscape.

[1] David, 2010 a: 150, 151.

Everything a peasant does within the natural landscape is or becomes an ethnographic document. The ethnographic landscape integrates the natural and the social environment, where the human being modifies or replaces the natural components (biotic and abiotic) based on his needs, the level of organization and development of the community to which he belongs. The ethnographer must not only study the *beautiful* side of the people, he „must search the characteristics of the folk life and soul, regardless of their origin"[2].

The ethnographic landscape can be rural or urban. Herein, I am referring exclusively to the rural ethnographic landscape.

The ethnographic research of the landscape helps us better understand the phenomena and the processes of the folk culture if we delineate them in accordance to geographically and identity clear areas (locally, microzonally, zonally, regionally, ethnically, continentally, planetary), following the genesis and the dynamics of all landscape components. The main components of the ethnographic landscape (Fig. 2) are: the natural component (biotic and abiotic), and the ethnographic patrimony, the later assuming the socio-economic and the cultural. The components are made of subcomponents (habitat, occupations etc.), which, in their turn, are made of elements.

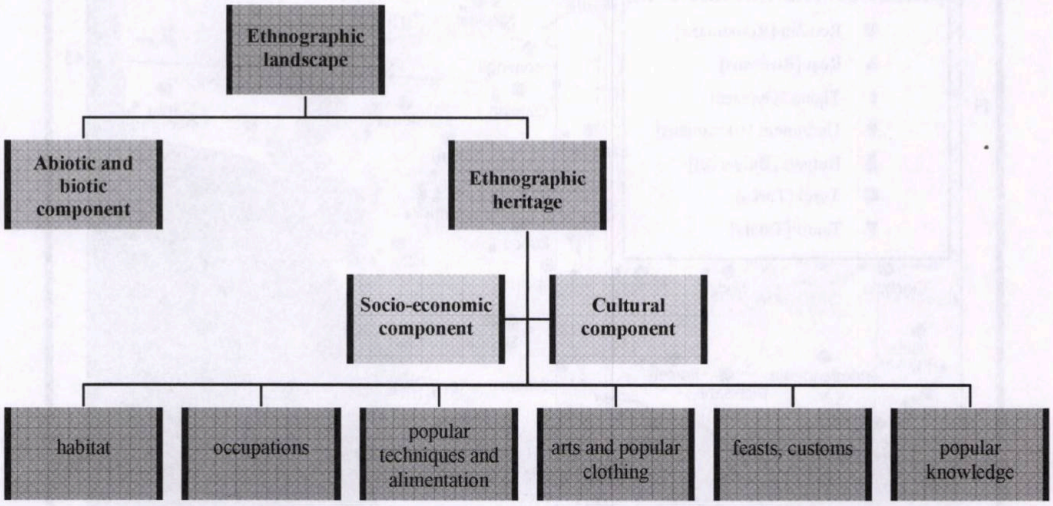


Fig. 2 – Components of the ethnographic landscape.

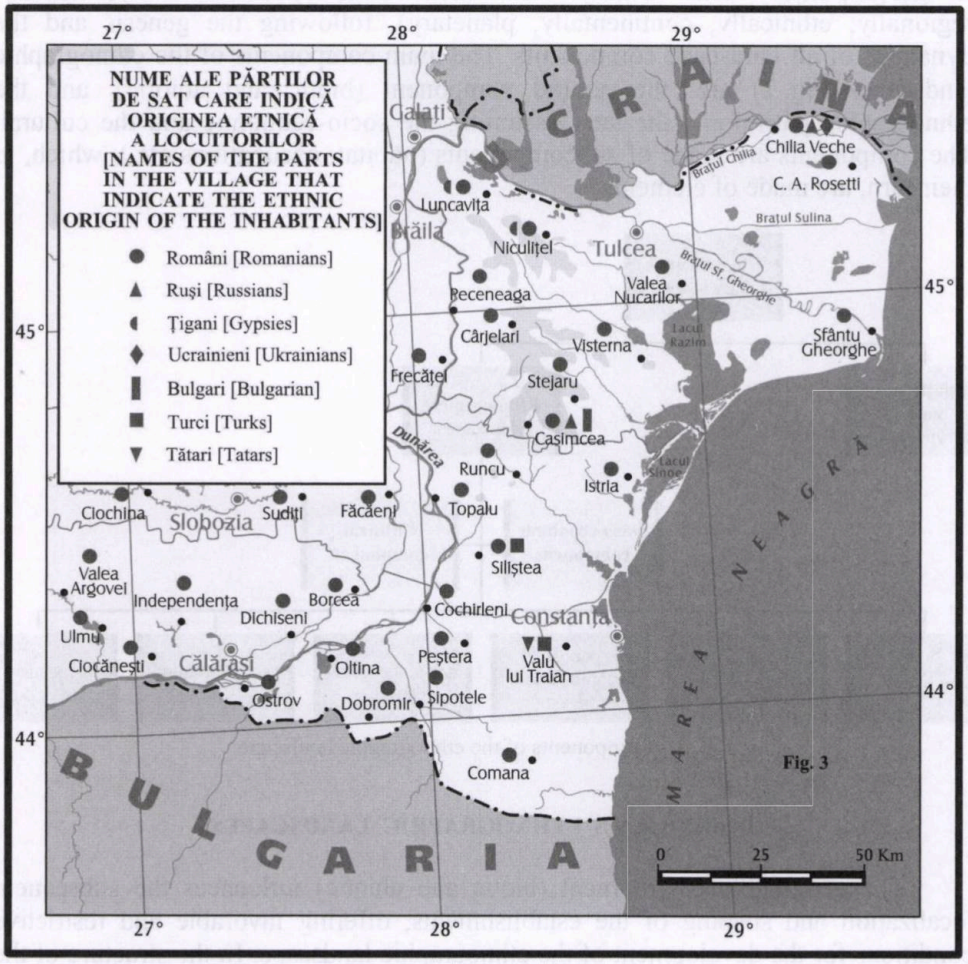
DOBROGEA'S ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPES

The geographic environment (biotic and abiotic) influences the subsequent localization and shaping of the establishments, offering favorable and restrictive conditions for the development of the ethnographic landscape. In the structure of the

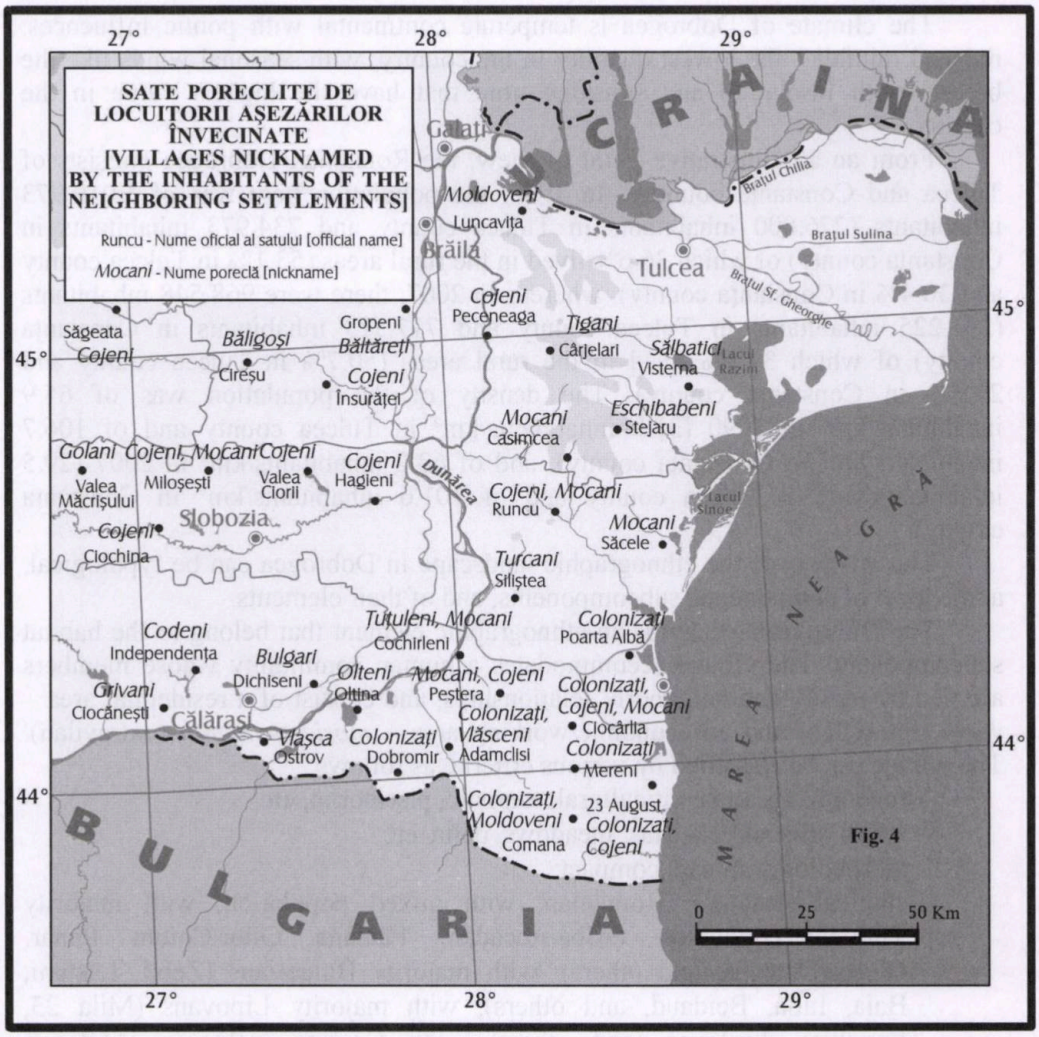
[2] Vâlsan, 2001: 10.

ethnographic landscape there are three main natural factors: the relief, the water, the soil, and a variety of secondary factors: the climate, the vegetation, the fauna, etc.

The Dobrogea Plateau is situated in the south-east of Romania. Based on its morphological and structural traits, the plateau is divided in four subdivisions, namely: Northern Dobrogea Massif, Casimcei Plateau, Southern Dobrogea Plateau, and the Romanian Black Sea coast[3]. The Northern Dobrogea Massif consists of: Măcinului Mountains (467 m), Niculițel Plateau, Tulcea Hills and Babadag Plateau. The Casimcei Plateau is the oldest territory in Romania, and represents the result of older Caledonian stretches, formed mainly from green schist. At the opposite side is the Danube Delta, which is the newest physical formation in Romania, a plain surface still in progress.



[3] Bălteanu 2005: 81.



Dobrogea is surrounded by water on three sides, to the west and north by the Danube, and to the east by the Black Sea. The area occupied by water is 26% of the entire Dobrogea space (43% in Tulcea county). The hydrographic network of Dobrogea consists of: rivers (Danube, Telița, Casimcea, etc.), lakes (fluvial and marine lagoons, such as Mangalia, Techirghiol, Taşaul etc.), lagoons (Razim-Sinoe Complex, Siutghiol, etc.); subterranean waters.

The fertile soils, the chernozem and white soil, are appropriate for agriculture, but the lack of rain determines the existence of steppe and silvosteppe vegetation in most areas of Dobrogea (with drought-resistant xerophile species), excepting the higher northern and southern areas, where we encounter broadleaf forests – oak, cerris, holm etc.

The climate of Dobrogea is temperate continental with pontic influences, reduced rainfall – the lowest quantity in the country, with seasonal winds like the breeze, with insolation and sunshine time that have the highest value in the country.

From an administrative point of view, the Romanian Dobrogea consists of Tulcea and Constanța counties. In 1990, the population here was of 1.010.973 inhabitants (276.000 inhabitants in Tulcea county and 734.973 inhabitants in Constanța county) of which 36.6% lived in the rural areas (53.1% in Tulcea county and 30.4% in Constanța county), whereas in 2007, there were 968.548 inhabitants (251.225 inhabitants in Tulcea county and 717.323 inhabitants in Constanța county) of which 34.9% lived in the rural areas (50.7% in Tulcea county and 29.3% in Constanța county). The density of the population was of 65.9 inhabitants/km² in 1990 (31.9 inhabitants/km² in Tulcea county and of 106.7 inhabitants/km² in Constanța county), and of 62.2 inhabitants/km² in 2007 (29.5 inhabitants/km² in Tulcea county and of 101.6 inhabitants/km² in Constanța county)[4].

The analysis of the ethnographic landscape in Dobrogea can be typological, at the level of components, subcomponents, and of their elements.

The Dobrogean village is an ethnographic element that belong to the habitat subcomponent. The village accommodates a human community whose members are tied by family and neighborly relationships, and consist of a residential area – *vatră* (intravilan) and an economic/working area – *moşie* or *merea* (extravilan). The village can be classified by various criteria, as follows:

- function: agrarian, viticultural, touristic, piscatorial, etc.
- relief: hills and plateaus, meadows, delta, etc.
- morphology: spread, compact;
- ethnical structure: Romanian, with mixed population, with majority Turkish population (Alba/Accadân, Fântâna Oilor/Coium Punar, Cloşca/Dautcea, and others), with majority Bulgarians (Zebil, Lăstuni, Baia, Iulia, Beidaud, and others), with majority Lipovans (Mila 23, Sarichioi, Jurilovca, and others), with German influence (Malcoci, Ciucurova, and others);
- number of inhabitants: small, medium, large, very large;
- genesis: free, spontaneous colonies, and imposed colonies (Fig. 3). In the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire colonized Dobrogea with Turkish and Tatar villages, in order to create a military area that spread from Crimea across Dobrogea up to the east of Bulgaria. The international conjunctions of the 19th and 20th century generated new forced colonies of Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks, Italians and other ethnicities. After the Romanian War of Independence (1877) and especially after the Adrianopol Treatise

[4] Data source: INS.

(1829) and the land reform of the first half of the 20th century, various establishments were created for the population that came from the other Romanian provinces (*mocani*, *cojeni*, Fig. 4).

The ethnographic landscape, by its variety and the richness of the elements contained, can be classified by various criteria[5]: the use of the land, the interaction of the elements that come from different landscapes, the dynamics, the cultural layers identified in its structure, its conservation status, esthetic value, etc.

These criteria notwithstanding, herein I am going to analyze the ethnographic landscapes focusing on the land usage as a classification criterion. In this way, I have identified the following ethnographic landscapes: sylvan, pastoral, piscatorial, arboreal, viticultural, agrarian, and mixed (Fig. 5). These ethnographic landscapes depend on the soil fertility, only the piscatorial landscape is strictly associated with the existence of water. For a better classification and mapping, I also used two secondary criteria: relief and traditional occupations. The relief, by its characteristics, determines the diversity of the soils, but also the arrangement of the landscapes according to the degrees of relief: pastoral, sylvan in high northern areas; arboreal, viticultural in the hills and plateaus, and agrarian in the lower area. The main occupations of the villagers (skills and technical installations are also analyzed) are vital activities that help us determine exactly what type of ethnographic landscape we encounter.

Vos and Meekes[6] state that „most of the European cultural landscapes are the result of historical use of working the land for a very long period of time: various stages overlapped, refined or replaced each other".

The sylvan landscape

The forest is the source for one of the most important civilizations of Romanians – the wood civilization. The wood civilization permeated all the components of the ethnographic landscape of material nature (shelter, occupations, skills and popular technical installations, feeding) and spiritual nature (beliefs, customs, mythology). In Dobrogea, the sylvan landscape is to be found over Măcinului Mountains, Tulcea Hills and the Babadag Plateau.

In fact, the sylvan landscape is no longer the most extensive landscape, as it was in the past. By massive clearings, slowly and step by step, by the end of the 18th century and very fast after this period, it was replaced by the rest of the ethnographic landscapes. The extant of the soils characteristic to the sylvan biotope, along with the toponymy specific to the cleared areas (that today are occupied by hayfields, pastures, crops, orchards, vineyards), together with historical and ethnographic documents, certifies that over two millenniums ago, in the times of Homer, the contemporary Dobrogean territory was covered mainly by

[5] David 2010b: 74.
[6] 1999: 4.

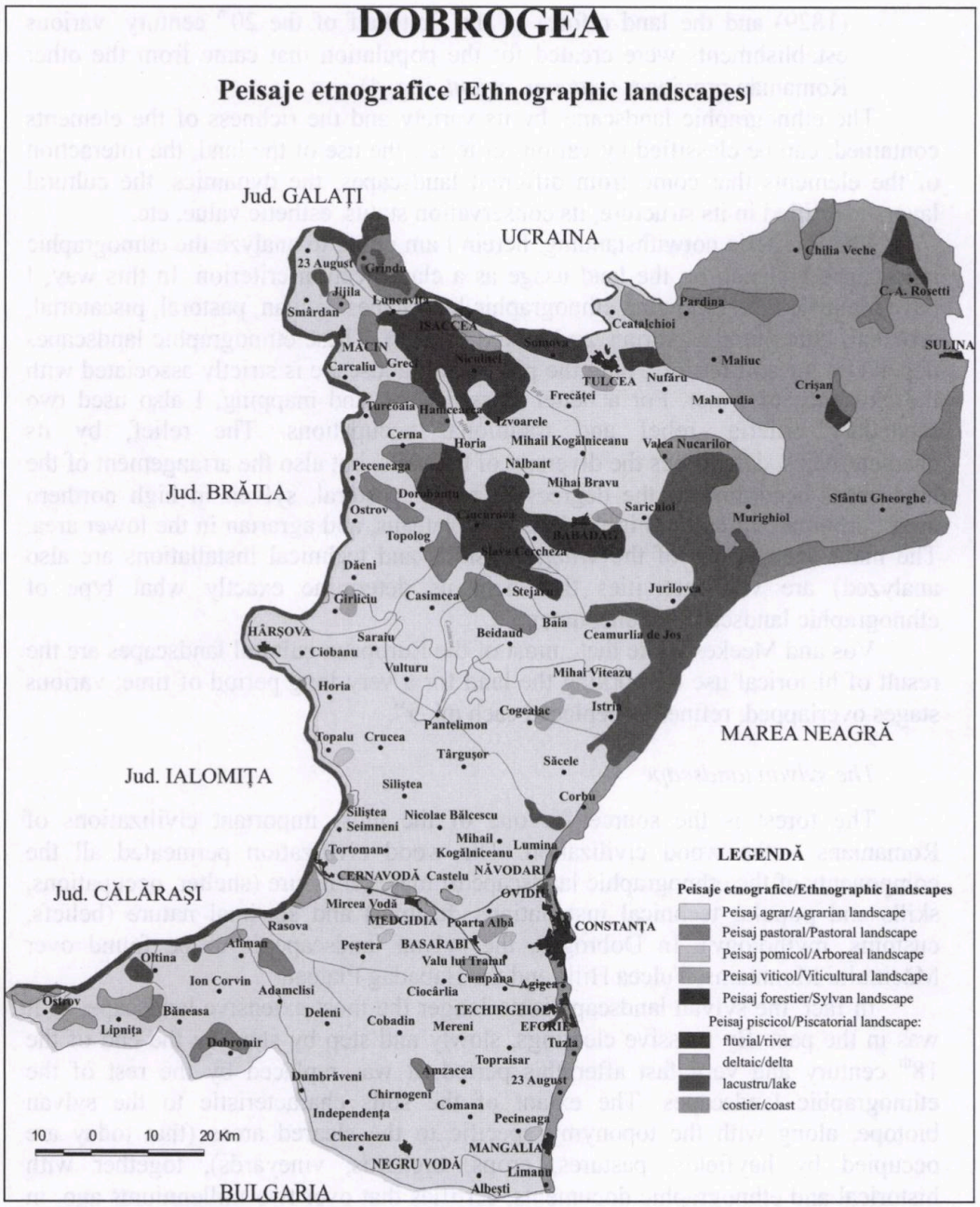


Fig. 5.

forests. The characteristic form of occupancy and land use was probably the spread village, composed by small groups of households (hamlets) spread across the forest

openings. The soil occupied by forests offered shelter for the people, but also clothes and food. When the historical or natural conditions were unfavorable, the forest became a safe hideaway.

The leftovers of the Dobrogea forests remain only on few sand banks in the Delta, in the Măcinului Mountains from northern Tulcea and in one part of the south-east of Constanța county, at the Bulgarian boarder, and it belongs to the oak subzone which comprises other broadleaf species besides oak, hornbeam or elm trees. The memory of the clearings is confirmed by the names of the places from where the forest was cut off: *curătură* (Nalbant), *mișilic* (Mahmudia, Șipote), *poiană* [opening] and other names. The area in Dobrogea occupied by forests was of 9.2% of the total area in 2006, namely: 12.2% in Tulcea county and 5.5% in Constanța county. From a spiritual point of view, the forest became one of the basic themes of the Romanian folklore and mythology: there are *doinas* generically named *forest song*, the Romanian is also named *brother of the forest*, and the expression *green leaf* is extremely frequent in many folk songs.

The pastoral landscape

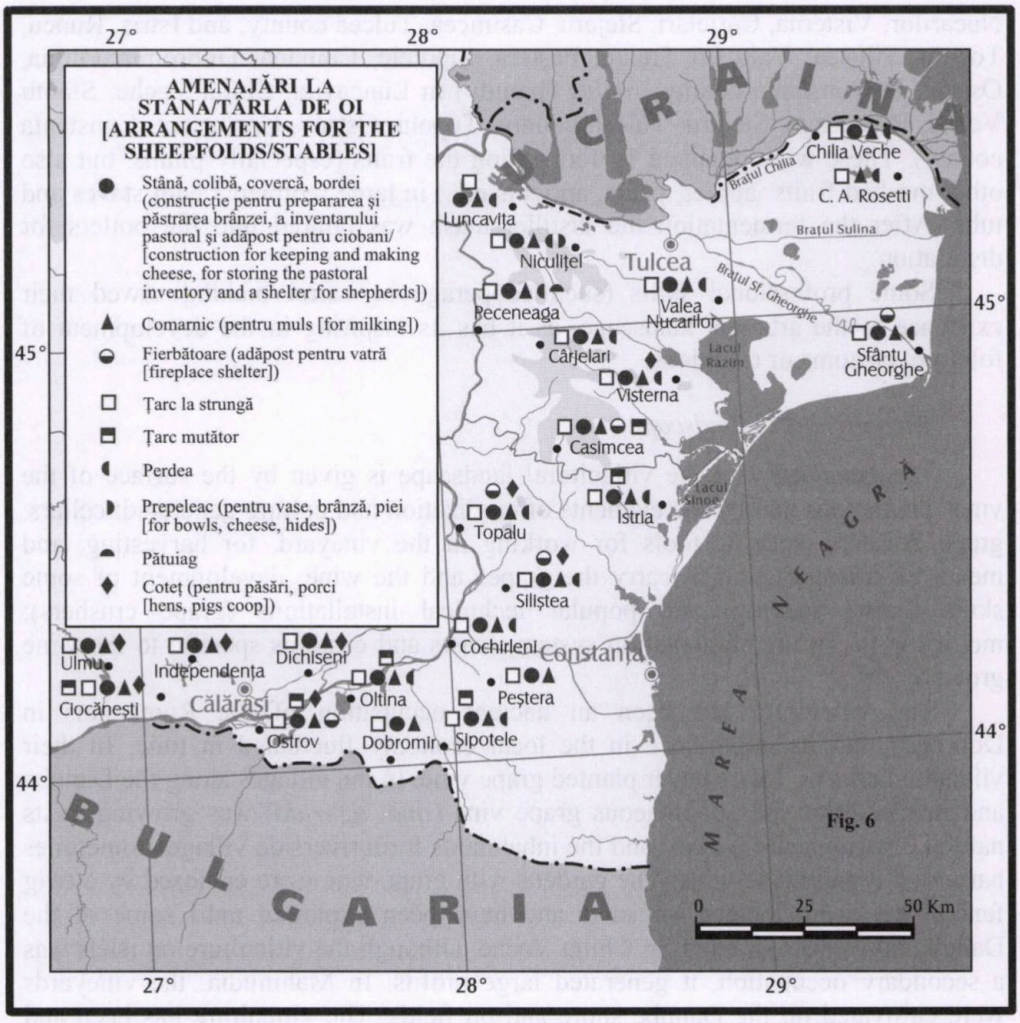
The fitogeographic resource on which the pastoral landscape developed are the grassland and natural hayfields, to which later on people had developed the fodder plants. In the history of Dobrogea, the transhumant grazing had a very special place, because it moved enormous sheep herds on hundreds of kilometers. Throughout the entire Middle Age, many shepherds from Transylvania came in transhumance in Dobrogea. Their sheepfolds were mentioned in the documents since the beginning of the 15th century. Searching for grasslands, the Romanian shepherds from the Carpathian lands, named after the areas in which they lived: *bârsani* (*săceleni*, *brăneni*, *brețcani*), *mărgineni* (*jieni*, *poienari*, *țuțuieni*), ended up by remaining and marrying in Dobrogea, creating here villages that sometimes will bear the name of their origins. To all these, shepherds from other areas, included from the South of the Danube, spent the summer in the Carpathians, Balkans, Caucasus, etc. and the winter in the lakes or the Danube Delta, on the shore plains of the Black Sea, Caspian Sea, Aegean Sea, etc. in the Pontic-Caspian steppes all the way to Crimea or the northern Caucasus. In many villages of Dobrogea, they spent the winters along with other transhumant shepherds from different areas, together with their animals, around the lakes or in the Delta.

The temporary settlements are specific to the pastoral landscape, sometimes being isolated, other times being grouped: *odăi/sălașe* (dwellings), *stâne* (sheepfolds), *bordeie* (soil cabins), many of them becoming stable settlements. The shepherds mapped out roads for the sheep and for the salt, which later on became very important traffic roads.

Photo 1. Sheep grazing in the lakes area, Jurilovca village, 2006, L. David.

After the Adrianopol Treatise in 1829 and the Romanian War of Independence in 1877, as a result of the massive population exchange, the number of Romanians increased, and subsequently, the occupational types changed. By introducing the Romanian steppe in the agricultural circuit, including the Dobrogea area, and closing some old transhumance roads, animal breeding decreased and cereal cultivation became dominant. The animals raised in the Dobrogea households are: big cattle (cows and oxen), sheep, goats, pigs, horses and donkeys. Animal breeding is a very important occupation in all of the villages in Dobrogea, next to cereal cultivation. Most of the villagers raise their sheep and cows on common land or around lakes in the summer (Photo 1) or inside their households in the winter.

As an old Romanian occupation, breeding animals marked the toponymy in obvious ways, from the organization of the household and house to the arrangement of the sheepfold (Fig. 6), family or calendric customs and feasts or in the language and folklore. The abundance of textile raw material of animal origin facilitated the development of household industry, and the abundance of hides and furs encouraged the development of furriery. The basis of the alimentation system is the animal product (milk and dairy products, meat).



The arboreal landscape

Wider areas with grand orchards are encountered in the villages Pecineaga, Tuzla, Poarta Albă, Topalu, Peştera, Mircea Vodă, Gârliciu. The orchards development has often been limited to a few species of fructiferous trees spread in the houseyards or at the boundaries of the villages (smaller areas): Siliştea, Runcu, Niculiţel, Izvoarele, Dăieni, Chilia Veche, Luncavița, Nalbant, Baia, Istria, Săcele.

The fruits and the alcoholic drinks prepared from the fruits have a very important place in the alimentation of Romanians. The most popular alcoholic drinks[7] are called: *țuica* (plum brandy) in Luncavița, Niculițel, Peceneaga, Valea

[7] Cf. AER 2008: 285.

Nucarilor, Visterna, Cârjelari, Stejaru, Casimcea, Tulcea county, and Istria, Runcu, Topalu, Siliştea, Valu lui Traian, Peştera, Şipotele, Comana, Dobromir, Oltina, Ostrov, in Constanţa county; *răchie* (brandy) in Luncavița, Chilia Veche, Sfântu Veche, Peceneaga, Stejaru, Tulcea county; Topalu, Ostrov, Cochirleni, Constanța county). These were obtained by fermenting the fruits (especially plums, but also other mashed fruits: apples, pears, apricots etc.) in large recipients with staves and tubs. After the fermentation the distiller mash was poured into the boilers for distillation.

Some professional skills (such cooperage or barrel making) owed their existence to the arboreal landscape, as it has its inspiring in the development of folklore, customs or traditions.

The viticultural landscape

The personality of the viticultural landscape is given by the surface of the vines plantations and by the elements of civilization and culture generated: cellars, grape crushers; specific tools for working in the vineyard, for harvesting, and means of transportation to carry the grapes and the wine; development of some skills (barrel making) and popular technical installations (grape crushers); modifications in the alimentation system; feasts and customs specific to the wine growers, etc.

The viticulture has been an ancient occupation of the Romanians in Dobrogea, but its importance in the local economy fluctuated in time. In their villages, Turks or Tatars never planted grape vine. In the villages along the Danube and in the Delta, the spontaneous grape vine (*aua*, *agurida*) was growing in its natural environment on trees, and the inhabitants form riverside villages sometimes harvested it and made wine. The gardens with grape vine were enclosed by a twig fence; they were located on islets and have been exploited until some of the Danube lakes were drained. In Chilia Veche, although the viticulture on islets was a secondary occupation, it generated large profits. In Mahmudia, the vineyards were cultivated on the Danube shore and on fields. The viticulture has been and remained an important occupation in the villages from the Danube shore in Constanţa county. At Oltina and Ostrov, the vineyards were surrounded by hedges (*dracă*) and produced grapes and wine for sale. In Rasova, it becomes the main occupation after the World War I. There were vineyards inside the village or in the fields in Jurilovca and Baia. Generally, only the vineyards from the villages' borders were surrounded by fences, not to be destroyed by animals, whereas the ones in the field remained unfenced (Luncavița, Peceneaga, Dăieni, Izvoarele, Nalbant, Istria, Săcele, Runcu, Merei). After the World War I, the viticulture spread very fast. Large areas were cultivated with grapevine in Peceneaga, Cârjelari, Visterna, Valea Nucarilor, Runcu, Peştera, Şipote, Ciocârlia, Comana, Adamclisi. The communist management of the CAP and IAS farms especially cultivated grape vine, so that in many villages the viticulture became a fundamental

occupation, along with animal breeding and cereal cultivation. Wine and grapes are sold in Dăieni and Izvoarele, and the wines made in Poarta Albă (Nazarcea), Ostrov, Oltina and Niculițel became famous abroad[8].

Unfortunately, the viticultural areas are alarmingly decreasing. If in 1990 Constanța county had 17.937 ha of vine grapes, in 2007 that surface decreased to 12.753 ha, and in Tulcea county the area decreased from 10.063 ha in 1990 to 9.309 ha in 2007[9].

The tools used in viticulture are specific: pruning knife, coop, basket for carrying the grapes, cask, breaker, grape crusher. As a viticultural tools, the rectangular fermenter (*lin*) with the upper part made of board, which is spread throughout Dobrogea and Danubian Plain, is dated recently.

The agrarian landscape

Through the evolution of the cultural elements comprised, the ethnographic landscapes are subjected to a time and space dynamics. Until the beginning of the 19th century, Dobrogea has been a typically pastoral area, with sheepfolds, hamlets, temporary settlements, with deep wells to draw out water using a leather bellows and the help of the animals, with pastoral roads that were marked with stone crosses here and there, to help with orientation and measurement of the distances between summer and winter areas or other elements (walking days). After the Adrianopol Treatise, in less than 100 years, Dobrogea became a typical agrarian landscape.

The proper agrarian landscape developed on cleared soils or on fallowgrounds. The agricultural villages in Dobrogea have a spread or aggregated structure, and the focal point of a household is not the animal shelter, but the cereal storage building (*magazii, pătule, porumbare* [banks, barns]), as well as to store the working tools and harnesses. The house and the alimentation system or the feasts and customs of the popular calendar are directly or indirectly reflecting the main occupation of the inhabitants, namely plants growing. The agrarian landscape, as presented by the map, is a dominant landscape in Dobrogea.

At the beginning of the 1990's, it was a prime area of the country, with an arable surface of 479.008 ha. Also, in 1990, Tulcea county had a large agrarian surface of 280.807 ha (data source: INS). In 2000, Constanța county held the first place in wheat and sunflower production. If in the Dobrogea of 2000 the cultivated areas decreased by 20-30%, after 2005, the agrarian areas increased, occupying larger areas than in 1990, as follows: in 2006, in Tulcea county there were 292.510 ha and in Constanța county, 485.802 ha[10]. The numbers indicate a fast development of the agrarian landscape based on the dominant pastoral landscape of almost a century ago.

[8] Dobrocult 2006-2008: 9.
[9] Data source: INS.
[10] Data source: INS.

The agrarian landscape in Constanța county is very well highlighted. In this sense, it is worth mentioning the ancient importance of the wheat production in the Black Sea area. In the 4th century BC, Demosthenes said that the Greeks were importing a large quantity of wheat from that area, „larger than all of the other commercial ports. And we must not be surprised"[11]. At the beginning of the 20th century, the plains of the Dobrogea plateau were cultivated, along with all the coastal terraces, and also the meadows and the Danube lakes. Cereal trading and carriage were important occupations in most Dobrogea villages that sold rye, barley, oat, millet, corn, rape and flax. The barter was an intense trade with fruits and vegetables.

An old and interesting form of culture was represented by the *închisori* [wards], twig fences surrounded patches of land, set on tall and fertile grinds or on the dried islets from the lakes in the Danube Delta, from Ostrov to Niculițel, Mahmudia and Chilia, some drained areas which especially after 1960 became important agrarian state exploitations. Alas, by forced redirecting of the Danube's courses, the Danube Delta extended its agrarian areas to the dangerous limit of producing irreversible modifications of the Delta landscape. As a consequence, settlements in the Delta that have fishing as a main occupation (Chilia, C.A. Rosetti, Sf. Gheorghe), suffered a spectacular expansion of the agrarian space. The inhabitants cultivated the land in the great lakes, but also in the small lakes.

The organization and exploitation of the agrarian land which provided the necessary goods for daily living was made randomly. The important aspects were surface and the quality of the soil – *țarna* (the unfenced crop). The old villages were surrounded by a ditch with an entrance gate, the *țarna* being guarded by warders (*meregii*) paid in cereals (Silițtea). The spreading of the cultures on these fields varied in time, based on the state or cooperative ownership regime. Nowadays, the fields are individually or family owned, some of them remaining uncultivated. The delimitation of the lots with crops was marked by weed beds or by rocks, bushes and trees[12].

The main agricultural moments and practices in Dobrogea villages were similar to the ones in the plain area from the south of Romania. Considering the geographic position and the climate of Dobrogea, in the south-east of Romania, the agrarian activities began earlier. They were growing: spring wheat (durum wheat, strong wheat), autumn wheat, rye, barley, oat, millet and a lot of corn. They were also growing potatoes and pumpkins, sunflower and rape, textile plants (hemp, flax, cotton, but of little relevance). The most common fodder for animal nutrition was the Italian millet.

The ways to obtain agrarian fields by cleaning the land, removing the bushes and trees, burning the chaff, and upturning the field by deep tillage using ploughs

[11] Documente 1975: 14.
[12] Dobrocult 2006-2008: 7.

of several pairs of oxen, all were a common practice in the villages along the Danube. The fertilization of the fields was made by burning the mulch or the stubble, by letting the field rest (fallowing of the land) from several months to three years, by using natural fertilizers (ash, manure, letting the sheep graze), as well as by crop rotation. In early 1900s, in all the Dobrogea villages the agricultural tool inventory was characterized the iron plough.

In comparison with to other agrarian areas, the Dobrogea villages had numerous perfected agrarian tools (iron ploughs, iron harrows, threshing machines). The places in which the cereals were threshed were located on the hills surrounding the villages. Some procedures and tools used in harvesting, threshing and winnowing were identified as being Mediterranean, and were probably being used since ancient times: *palamarca* (the wooden shield for the fingers), used for harvesting the cereal spikes; threshing in the threshing areas using horses and rocks (rollers); the flint-toothed sled (*dosca*, *dicania*) for crumbling the chaff; *iaba* and *iabăluța* (some kind of pitchforks), and specific wooden-toothed pitchforks of various sizes, and the winnowing net.

The piscatorial landscape

The water is the most important element in establishing a settlement. The piscatorial landscape has been a primordial landscape which generated secondary landscapes (agrarian, viticultural, arboreal). The piscatorial landscape can be divided in: fluvial, lacustrian, deltaic, marine, and coastal. It decreased continuously by banking, draining, covering up, etc., facilitating the expansion of agrarian fields over the floodable areas along the Danube and other important rivers. The villages specific to the piscatorial landscape are spread and especially clustered villages, situated along the hydrographic network or channels, brooks, lakes from the Danube Delta.

The abundance of water, fish and reed reflects the main occupation of the inhabitants in the feeding system based on fish (fishing), in using the reed as a material for building roofs (houses and other buildings), in building the outbuildings walls and fences, and water transportation means, in the folklore and the customs and beliefs associated with water and fish.

Fishing is an ancient occupation of the Romanian people. Dobrogean waters are rich in ichthyologic fauna, in which there are species such as: carp, pike, perch, sturgeon (isinglass, starlet, stor sturgeon, Black Sea sturgeon), etc.

Fishing developed as a main occupation in the rivers areas, lakes and Danube Delta, as well as in the settlements on the Black Sea shore. The piscatorial landscape preserved a lot of the ancient techniques for catching fish. Catching fish by hand under the logs, under the rocks or ashore is one of the oldest ways of catching fish. Another ancient way is directing the fish towards nets, diverting the water course, fishing with the kettle, and poisoning plants. The night fishing was done using torches and hand lamps, and winter fishing implied waterholes. The

fishing tools used vary: mad of metal: *undița/cârligul* [hook], *ostia* [spear/fork], *furculița* [smaller fork] etc.; made of twigs and osier: *coș* [basket], *vârșa* [tunnel net] etc.; made of reed and twigs: *gard* [fence], *coteț* [coop], *zăton* [long and narrow fencing inside the water] etc.; made of net: *voloc* [fishing net], *năvod* [trawling net], *lăptaș, jigajnie, orie, cârstnic* (types of fishing nets – Photo 2); fishing nets networks: *mreją, avă, plavă, cobcă*, etc.

Photo 2. *Cârstnic*, Jurilovca village, 2006, L. David.

The traditional transportation means used for fishing were *luntre*, *cinuri* (boats), monoxile boats (carved in tree logs), etc. The fishing was not only a manly occupation. One of the characteristic aspects of the piscatorial landscape from Dobrogea, that can be considered particular to this region, was fishing women.

FEASTS AND CUSTOMS IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE OF DOBROGEA

I have chosen to give here some examples out of the complex and important winter feasts and customs in Dobrogea, because of their significance and wide distribution throughout the entire cultural space of Romania. These feasts take place at the end and the beginning of each year, marked by the three main events: Christmas, New Year and Epiphany. They are very well represented in the Dobrogea cultural space (Fig. 7) and constitute an example of landscape analysis at an ethnographic elements level.

Colindatul la Crăciun [Christmas caroling] is a very common and comprehensive custom. As one can see on the map (fig. 7), its terminology is very diverse[13]. It relates to the actual practice: *colindat* (Peştera – Constanţa county; C.A. Rosetti and Luncaviţa – Tulcea county), and more frequently to the text performed: *colindă* (Stejaru – Tulcea county); *cu colinda* (Valea Nucarilor, Mahmudia – Tulcea county); *colind* (Albeşti, Dobromir – Constanţa county and Chilia Veche, Niculiţel, Visterna-Starichioi – Tulcea county); *cu colindu* (Peştera – Constanţa county); *colindeţe* (Dorobanţu – Cârjelari village – Tulcea county). The terminology for caroling also includes the temporal version, *Moş Ajunul* (Comana, Istria, Topalu, Oltina and Ostrov – Constanţa county; Baia, Dăieni, Peceneaga – Tulcea county).

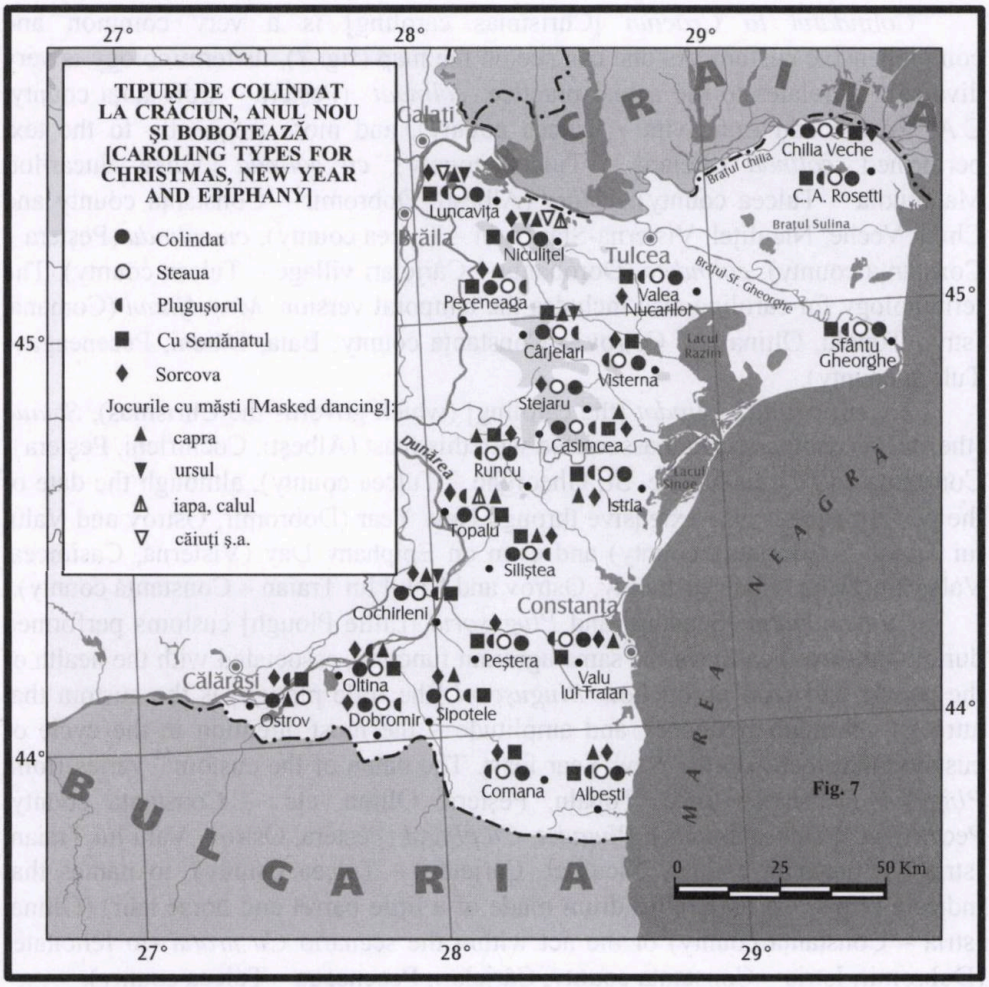
Together with *Colindat* [the caroling] (which governs the Chrismas), *Steaua* [the star] is another custom associated with this feast (Albeşti, Cochirleni, Peştera – Constanţa and Chilia Veche, Sf. Gheorghe – Tulcea county), although the date of the performance is also extensive through New Year (Dobromir, Ostrov and Valul lui Traian – Constanţa county) and even on Epiphany Day (Visterna, Casimcea, Valea Nucarilor – Tulcea county, Ostrov and Valul lui Traian – Constanţa county).

Cu Semănatul [Seeding] and *Pluguşorul* [Little Plough] customs performed during the New Year have the same agrarian function, associated with the health of the people and crop production. *Pluguşorul* [the little plough] is the custom that attracts – through frequency and amplitude – the most attention in the cycle of customs that focus on the New Year feast. The name of the custom[14] varies from, *Pluguşor* (Albeşti, Şipote, Topalu, Peştera, Oltina, etc. – Constanţa county, Peceneaga – Tulcea county), *Pluguleţ, Cu plugul* (Peştera, Ostrov, Valu lui Traian, Istria – Constanţa county, Niculiţel, Cârjelari – Tulcea county), to names that indicate props: *Cu buhaiul* (a drum made of a little barrel and horse hair) (Oltina, Istria – Constanţa county) or the act within the scenario *Cu uratul* (to felicitate) (Dobromir, Istria – Constanţa county, Cârjelari, Peceneaga – Tulcea county).

Although the name of the custom *Cu semănatul* defines main activity of the actors (seeding), in some places, *semănatul* takes its name from a handled prop (the wheat). In this way, in Albeşti – Constanţa county, it goes by the name *Grâuşorul*; *Cu grâuşorul*[15].

Another custom from the New Year feasts that has an ample spreading in the Dobrogea is *Sorcova* (Chilia Veche, Valea Nucarilor, Luncaviţa, Niculiţel, Peceneaga, Visterna, Stejaru, Casimcea – Tulcea county; Runcu, Istria, Topalu, Siliştea, Cochirleni, Peştera, Valu lui Traian, Şipotele, Oltina, Ostrov, Dobromir, Comana, Albeşti – Constanţa county (Fig. 7).

[13] DER 2009: 255, 256.
[14] DER, 2009: 262.
[15] DER, 2009: 267.



The masked games were and still are a frequent spiritual reality, very representative by the composition of the human suite as well as by the variety of the masks (see on the Figure 7 their spreading throughout the entire Dobrogean territory).

All of these customs from the Dobrogea villages have mainly the same names, actors, props, dates, objectives, practices, etc. as the customs from all the Romanian villages.

Starting with the 20th century, the fragmentation and the modification of the ethnographic landscape took place with an unbelievable speed. The alarm signal is that these traditional cultural landscapes, created, developed and kept throughout the centuries and millenniums, disappear or are rapidly transformed in the last years.

Source of the maps

The areas analyzed are part of the AER [Romanian Ethnographic Atlas]; many of the ethnographic phenomena and elements are common also to other Dobrogea villages.

Fig. 3: *Atlasul Etnografic Român* [The Romanian Ethnographic Atlas], volume I, *Habitatul* [The Habitat], map: *Nume ale părților de sat care indică originea etnică a locuitorilor* [Names of the parts in the village that indicate the inhabitants' ethnic origin], author Ion Ghinoiu, p. 59.

Fig. 4: *Atlasul Etnografic Român* [The Romanian Ethnographic Atlas], volume I, *Habitatul* [The Habitat], map: *Sate poreclite de locuitorii așezărilor învecinate* [Villages nicknamed by the inhabitants of the neighboring settlements], author Ion Ghinoiu, p. 67 and the field materials collected within the CEEX project – Dobrocult 2006-2008.

Fig. 5: The map of field's utilization, satellite image, Landsat 2000.

Fig. 6: *Atlasul Etnografic Român* [The Romanian Ethnographic Atlas], volume II, *Ocupațiile* [Occupations], map: *Amenajări la stâna/târla de oi* [Arrangements for the sheepfolds/stables], author Geta Moraru, p. 177.

Fig. 7: *Corpus de documente etnografice. Sărbători și obiceiuri* [Ethnographic Documents Corpus: Feasts and Customs], volume V, Dobrogea, Muntenia, p. 255-277.

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IDENTITY AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF AROMANIANS AND MEGLENO-ROMANIANS IN DOBROGEA

EMIL ŢÎRCOMNICU

ABSTRACT

In the fieldwork research done between 2001–2003 in localities inhabited by Macedo-Romanians (Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians) in Tulcea and Constanţa Counties I obtained interesting data related to vasious issues, such as: how the Aromanians refer themselves to identity and self-identification; what do they take in consideration regarding their national belonging; their similiarities whith Romanians from historical regions; inter-relations between various Aromanian groups (differences between branches, own to their original geographic place and the particular influences owed to the co-habitation with other Balkan people); imagology regarding Aromanian branches and the multiethnic imagology (how the Aromanians look at Balkan people); fragments of family histories.

Keywords: Ethnic identity, imagology, Self-identification, Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians.

THE DOBROGEAN POPULATION AND MACEDO-ROMANIANS' COLONIZATION[1]

The Aromanians are spread in several Balkan states: in southern Albania, northern Greece, the Republic of Macedonia, and in small numbers also in Serbia and Bulgaria. Individually or in small groups, having various occupations, mainly handicrafts and merchants, the Aromanians settled in the past centuries in Serbia, Hungary, the Romanian provinces, Austria, Germany, Italy and so on. After 1863, Romania was involved in the process of national-cultural affirmation of the Aromanians, an important number of whom were considered, and considered themselves to be Romanians from the south of the Danube. Others were included among the Greeks, and the Greek state regarded them as Greek-Vlachophones, i.e. Greek speakers of Vlach language. Perjoratively, the Greeks call them *Kutzovlahi*, the Serbs *Ţânţari (cincari)* and the Albanians, *Ciobani (Cŏbani)*. The *Fărşeroţi* called themselves *Rămâni (Rămăni)*, and the others Aromanian

[1] Although the notion of colonization was frequently employed at the interwar period, I consider it was rather a question of free migration, and granting of citizenship and lands to Aromanians.

branches called themselves *Armâni*. The generic name of Aromanians was bestowed on them by Gustav Weigand in his work *Die Aromunen*[2]. In 1925, some of them started to come to Romania, through "colonization", as they considered Romania their motherland.

The Megleno-Romanians, also called *Vlaşi* (Vlachs), are settled in the Meglen region, in northern Greece, close to the border with the Republic of Macedonia. In this region there were eight localities with Megleno-Romanian population: Lugunţa-Lundzini (today Langardia), Brislav (Periclea), Liumniţa (Skra), Cupa (Kupa), Oşani (Arhanghelos), Ţărnareca (Karpi), Barovița and the small town Nânta (Notia); a commune, Livezi, was inhabited by *Grămosteni* Aromanians. Three communes, Huma, Coinsco and Sirminina, were taken over by the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian kingdom and now belong to the Republic of Macedonia. The Megleno-Romanians speak a dialect which is different from the Aromanian one; German linguist Gustav Weigand, at the end of the nineteenth century, identified it as the fourth dialect of the ancient Romanian language[3].

The Megleno-Romanians from Nânta were converted to Islam around 1650. In 1923 through the exchange of population, confirmed by the Peace of Lausanne, between Greece and Turkey, the inhabitants of Nânta were considered Turks and forced to emigrate to Turkey. In 1925 the Megleno-Romanians from all villages in Greece began to settle in Durostor county, in the Cadrilater, where they were transferred from to Cerna commune, Tulcea county, in 1940.

Living in an area with a fertile soil, the Megleno-Romanians practiced agriculture, cattle and silkworm breeding, unlike the Aromanians, who were mainly shepherds, craftsmen, merchants and caravane transporters (*cărăvănari*). Actually, the Aromanians had no appreciation for agricultural activities, an attitude which did not go unnoticed by the Romanian press, when, in the interwar period, they emigrated to the Cadrilater. The the press, some voices contested the Romanian state's decision to the agrarian Dobrogea a population mainly of shepherds.

The Balkan wars of 1912–1913 led to the fall of the Ottoman Empire and to the expansion (actually, formation) of the Balkan states, which changed the geo-political and strategic configuration of the Balkans. Romania requested the southern Dobrogea (the Cadrilater) in exchange for maintaining its neutrality in the first Balkan War.

However, as early as 1899 Ion Neniţescu had argued for a colonization of the Macedo-Romanians in Dobrogea; he urged that a part of the Macedonian Romanians be brought to Dobrogea, as otherwise in the Balkans they would be

[2] Weigand 1894–1895. Gustav Weigand was an outstanding European philologist, with a major contribution to Romanian linguistics. He researched all Romanian groups, from Romania, Austro-Hungary, Greece, the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, etc., and published his *Linguistischer Atlas des dacorumänischen Sprachgebietes* between 1898 and 1909.

[3] Weigand 1892.

deprived of their nationality[4]. Actually, in north-Dobrogean towns there existed already an important colony of Macedo-Romanian merchants, formed after 1878.

This topic was resumed by the Macedo-Romanian elite from Romania, which was in touch with the one from Greece, in 1923, when, because of the defeat of Greece by Turkey there was an exchange of population, between 600.000 Turks from Greece and 1,500.000 Greeks from Asia Minor. The demographic, economic and political pressure over the communities of Macedo-Romanians (Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians) from Greece required searching for a survival formula. The Macedo-Romanian elite from the Balkans decided, in the wake of several national congresses, to require to the Romanian state the colonization of the Cadrilater, first for a number of 2.500 families. Eventually, the migrants were over 5.000 families, in colonization waves that occurred between 1925 and 1933. Afterwards, until 1940, only a few families succeeded to settle in Romania. The total number of Aromanians families settled in the Cadrilater was over 5.000, namely around 27.000 persons, to which almost 1.000 persons, of Megleno-Romanian origin, added.

In the Cadrilater villages the Macedo-Romanians were granted agricultural land, plots to build houses, as well as bank credits. By 1940 they had founded prosperous households. In the wake of the surrender of the territory of southern Dobrogea, the Macedo-Romanian population was relocated to Tulcea and Constanţa counties in the households left behind by the transferred Bulgarian. Through the exchange of the Romanian-Bulgarian population, 63.000 Bulgarians from northern Dobrogea were relocated to southern Dobrogea, a territory surrendered to Bulgaria in September 1940 as stipulated by the Treaty of Craiova, in exchange for 103.000–110.000 Romanians (of which 2/3 were Romanians colonized in the Cadrilater and 1/3 Macedo-Romanians).

The Aromanians settled in the villages of Tulcea (especially Gramosteni Aromanians), and Constanţa (Aromanians from all branches). Thus, localities with an important Aromanian population in Tulcea county are: Nicolae Bălcescu, Lăstuni, Cataloi, Stejaru, Vasile Alecsandri, Babadag, Camena, Ceamurlia de Sus, Baia, Beidaud, Casimcea, Sarighiol de Deal; in Constanţa county: Cogealac, Tariverde, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Techirghiol, Palazu Mare, Ovidiu, Nisipari, Cobadin, Săcele, Mihai Viteazu, Sinoe. After Romania surrendered the Cadrilater to Bulgaria, the Aromanians also settled in other counties such as Călăraşi, Ialomiţa, Ilfov and Timiş.

AROMANIAN GROUPS AND SUB-GROUPS IN BALKANS

Owing to the vast spatial spreading of the Aromanian groups, they have gradually evolved regional ethnographic characteristics with fairly peculiar

[4] Neniţescu 1900: 2, quoted in Pariza 2008: 349.

features. Some differences are historically explainable by the migration and superposition of some Aromanian groups, while other particularities are explained by the natural environment, and also by the cohabitation with Balkan peoples.

Nevertheless, Th. Capidan's observation about the Aromanian branches is still valid: "Regardless of how scattered their settlements appear to be, the Romanians from the southern Balkans form a unitary population, dressed in the same costume and speaking the same Romanian language, with insignificant regional differences. Therefore, speaking about Romanian branches, we mean simple groups of Aromanians, who, living as they did in different areas, came gradually to differ somewhat from each other because of special historical circumstances"[5].

Thus, the various Aromanian groups, today as in the past, keep their names from the geographical areas (especially localities) where they lived[6].

1. The *Moscopoleni*: the name comes from Moscopole (Voscopole), a town in southern Albania and an outstanding economic and cultural centre in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They belong to the group of *Fărşeroți* that settled in towns; mixed with the other Aromanian branches, they became representative of the Aromanian elite. After the destruction of the Moscopole town, they spread to a large area, mainly to towns in Macedonia, Serbia, Austro-Hungary, Germany, and the Romanian Countries.

2. The *Fărşeroți*: the name comes from Fraşari, a village in southern Albania. Though scientifically unproved, a certain legend tells they are the descendants of the Roman legions of Pompei, defeated by Caesar at Pharsalos. It is noteworthy the *Fărşeroți* called themselved *Rămâni (Rămăni)*. As they were prevailingly shepherds, they spread onto a large territory. Ioan Caragiani said, in 1895, that "in the summer there was no mountain in the [Balkan] Peninsula not to have *Fărşeroți* as well."[7] They lived in *fare* (tribes) of 2.000–3.000 persons, led by *celnics*.

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[5] Capidan 1932: 11.

[6] "Noi, *fărşeroții*, [provenim din] localitatea Fraşari. De la Fraşari ne-a rămas numele *fărşeroți*. *Grămostenii* erau din Gramostea şi le-a rămas denumirea *grămosteni*. *Verioții, avdiliații* sunt din Veria şi Avdela, *moscopolenii* din Moscopole, *muzăchiarii* din Muzachia, *megleniții* din Meglen. Aşa le-a rămas numele. În schimb au aceeaşi limbă. Deosebiri erau, de exemplu, cei care trăiau printre greci aveau cuvinte împrumutate şi anumite obiceiuri luate de pe la greci. Ăia care erau în Serbia au împrumutat anumite cuvinte de la sârbi. Ăia care trăiau în Albania au împrumutat de la musulmani, că acolo erau turci. De aici e diferența" (Vasile Giuvara).

We, the *Fărşeroți* [are from] Fraşari. That's why we are called the *Fărşeroți*. The *Grămosteni* were from Grămostea and that's why they are now called the *Grămosteni*. The *Verioți* and the *Avdiliați* are respectively from Veria and Avdela, the *Moscopoleni* from Moscopole, the *Muzăchiari* from Muzachia, and the *Megleniți* from Meglen. Thence their present names. But they share the same language. There were differences as well; for example, those who lived among the Greeks borrowed Greek words and customs. Those from Serbia borrowed some Serbian words. Those from Albania borrowed from the Muslims because there were Turks there. Thence come the differences between the Aromanians (informant Vasile Giuvara).

[7] Nenițescu 1895: 28.

3. The *Grămosteni* (or *Grămusteni*): originated from the Gramos Mountains, a range of the Pindus Mountains (Greece). Their name comes from Gramostea, formerly an important commercial centre. After the destruction of the large commercial centres of Gramostea, Linotope, and Niculiţa, the *Grămosteni* migrated to the other towns, some arriving among the Megleno-Romanians, and they founded Livezi village, others coming to the mountains of Bulgaria. To the Cadrilater, numerous *Grămosteni* came from Greece (especially from Livezi village) as well as from Bulgaria, eventually many getting relocated in villages of Tulcea County.

4. The *Epiroţi*: their name originated from the Epirus Mountains (the eastern range of the Pindus Mountains). This group offered Greece famous warriors in her fight for independence. They live in the towns and communes of southern Albania, Epirus, and Zagor.

5. The *Olimpiani*: the name comes from Mount Olympus. They are a group of Aromanians who appeared late in this area, before the eighteenth century, probably coming from the Pindus Mountains.

6. The *Arnăucheni*: Aromanians from Albania. To this group belong the farming Aromanians from the plain of Muzachia (Myzeqe) and the shepherds from the mountains of Albania[8].

7. The *Sărăcăciani*: a semi-nomadic, Hellenized group, still preserving Aromanian customs and traditions, they lived in round shepherd huts (called *călive* or *cucuviţe*) and were organized in *celnicate*. Their name is controversial, yet it seems to originate in Siracu locality (in Epirus)[9].

8. The *Caraguni*: a name given to the Aromanians by the Greeks due to the black costume of the former. A tribe of nomadic shepherds from Albania, they did not know the Greek language.

9. The *Copăciari* (or *Cupăciari*): they lived to the south of the town of Grebena, in a region between Mount Olympus and the Pindus Mountains. Although Hellenized, they preserved their Aromanian costumes and customs.

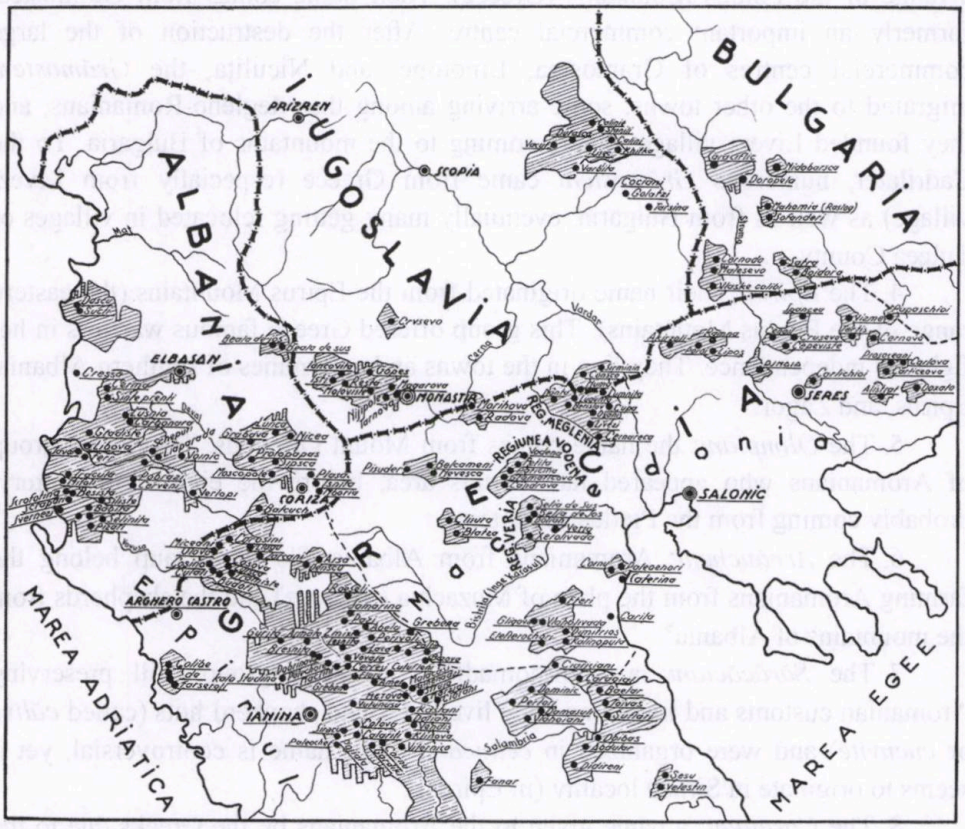
10. The *Mulovişteni* and *Gopeşeni*: inhabitants of two localities from the Republic of Macedonia, Mulovişte and Gopeş. Certain particularities of their speech suggest that the two groups' ancestors were Megleno-Romanians mixed with Aromanians (the *Grămosteni*)[10].

[8] Capidan 1932: 15.

[9] Neniţescu 1895: 466–468; Capidan 1924: 26; Capidan 1932: 14.

[10] Weigand 1892: 55; Weigand 1895: 356; Capidan 1932: 19–20; Papahagi 1930: 195–256; Saramandu 1979: 99–108.

AREAS INHABITED BY AROMANIANS AND MEGLENO-ROMANIANS IN THE BALKANS



SOCIOLOGIE ROMÂNEASCĂ, III, 4—6.
Noe: Colonizarea Cadrilaterului. 1938

Romanian Sociology, III, no. 4-6.
Noe: Colonization of the Cadrialter, 1938.

IDENTITY AND IMAGOLOGY

In 2001 and 2003 I did field research in Dobrogea, in Cerna commune (Tulcea county), as well as in Cogealac, Tariverde, Ovidiu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Palazu Mare and Techirghiol (Constanța county), and thus succeeded in registering numerous aspects referring to the ideea of assuming Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian identity: self-identification, namely how the Aromanians construct their national belonging, as well as their similarities with the Romanians; identity preservation and interrelations among Aromanian branches, namely how the differences between branches are perceived, especially due to geographical origin and particular influences of the neighboring Balkan peoples; imagologies, regarding

different branches of Aromanians, and interethnic imagology, namely how the Aromanians regard the other Balkan peoples; fragments of family histories etc.

Analysis of the field data from the early years of the twenty-first century reveals a crucial aspect. To the question "What are the Aromanians?" I have received answers suggesting that the Aromanians and the Romanians were one and the same. The interlocutors explained that the Aromanians belonged to the Romanian nationa, and often argued that otherwise their own parents and grandparents wouldn't have come to Romania. They ascribe the small differences between Aromanian branches to different influences and peculiar historical-geographical evolution.

Although the interviews are complete with the informants' extended explanations regarding the culture, occupation, history and traditions of the Aromanians, I have selected only certain explanations for the identity topic. I have been interested in the way the subjects build up their identity and search for marks of identity. Although the interviews were taken in various geographical areas, they reveal similarities, at least as concerns social-historical clichés.

When interviewing people on such delicate matters, the answers will be consistent with mainly the educational background of the subject, who has to point to and elaborate on some identity marks. In general, the subjects will first recall ther geographical origin, language, history, culture etc. In the particular case of a historical-cultural sub-group, they will mention some aspects which separate it from other sub-groups, such as the specific costume, dialect, personality traits.

The main Aromanian branches are the *Fărşeroţi-Rămâni* and the *Grămosteni-Armâni*:

> "De fapt noi, *fărşeroţii,* nu spunem aromâni. *Cipanii* [grămostenii] spun aromâni. Noi spunem *rămâni*. Deci ce suntem? Noi, practic, suntem români. Profesorul universitar din Statele Unite, din New York, Aurel Ciufecu, chiar a făcut o rectificare la televiziune când a fost invitat la Realitatea TV. Îi dădeau întruna cu aromânii. «Noi de ce ne spunem aromâni? Cine a pus litera A în faţa lui R? Noi spunem *rămâni*!». Eu simt că sunt român. Pentru că şi în Grecia, profesori se aduceau din România. Deşi am fost în Grecia, dar cu profesori români şi cu învăţători români am învăţat. Erau tutelate de statul român şcolile. Şcolile erau subvenţionate de statul român" (Zaharica Purichea).
>
> In fact, we, the *Fărşeroţi*, we don't say Aromanians. The *Cipani* [the Grămosteni] say Aromanians. We say *Rămâni*. So, what are we? We, practically, are Romanians. Aurel Ciufecu, a professor from the USA, from New York, even insisted on this point on Realitatea TV a while ago. The reporter would speak about Aromanians. "Why do we call ourselves Aromanians? Who appended an A to the R? We say *Rămâni*!" I feel I am Romanian, because even in Greece our teachers were from Romania. Although I was [raised] in Greece, I learned with Romanian teachers. The trustee of our schools was the Romanian state. Our schools were subsidized by the Romanian state (informant Zaharica Purichea).

There also were names that originated from the birth locality: the *Avdeliaţi* (from Avdela), the *Veriani* (from Veria), the *Plisoţi* (from Pleasa), etc.,

"În Techirghiol sunt aromâni care provin din Avdela, aveau case şi în Avdela şi în Veria, Xirolivad. Noi ne spunem *veriani* sau *avdeliaţi*" (Steliana Gima).
In Techirghiol there are Aromanians who came from Avdela, they had houses in Avdela and in Veria, Xirolivad. We call ourselves *Veriani* or *Avdeliaţi* (informant Steliana Gima).

but also from the shepherds who, wandering with their flocks in search for pastures, would settle temporarily close to springs (*şopot*), thence the name of the *Şopan*:

"Sunt *fărşeroţi*. Le spune *plisoţi* că erau din Pleasa, Pleasa în Albania, şi *şopań*, de la *şopote* (cişmele). Şi erau între Albania şi Grecia, la graniţă. Între *şopań* şi *plisoţi* nu sunt deosebiri, în obiceiuri foarte puţine. Dar între *fărşeroţi* şi *cipani* sunt diferenţe mari în grai, obiceiuri şi port" (Zaharica Purichea).
They are *Fărşeroţi*. They are called *Plisoţi* because they were from Pleasa, the village Pleasa in Albania, and *Şopan* from *şopote* (springs). And they lived on the border between Albania and Greece. There were but a few differences in customs between the *Şopani* and *Plisoţi*. Yet there are huge differences between the *Fărşeroţi* and *Cipani* in speech, customs and costume (informant Zaharica Purichea).

Because of their peculiar coats, often made from goat skin, with sharp forms so that the rain water would drain all the quicker (*cip* means *sharp*), another name for the *Grămosteni* who came from southern Bulgaria and northern Greece was the *Cipani*:

"Să vă spun eu de ce le spune *cipani*. Pe vremuri, mai demult, *cipanii* erau îmbrăcaţi într-un fel de haină în care aveau nişte chipete sus şi pe umeri şi pe cap, un fel de pelerină de ploaie. Le spunea *cip*, *cip* adică ascuţit. De aia le spune *cipani* fiindcă purtau haina aia cu *cip*. *Cip* înseamnă vârf. *Cip*, *cipani*. Spun unii *grămostean*, fiindcă era Gramostea mare oraş." [?Dar *cipanii* de unde se trag] "Din Bulgaria mai mult, dar şi din Grecia" (Vasile Bardu).
Let me tell you why they are called the *Cipani*. In old times, the *Cipani* used to wear a kind of coat which had '*chipete*' on the head and shoulders, a kind of rain mantle, called *cip*, meaning 'sharp'. That's why the people were called the *Cipani*, because of their coats with the *cip*. Cip means 'peak'. Cip, hence Cipani. Some say *Grămosteni* because Gramostea was a large town. [But where do the *Cipani* come from?] Mostly from Bulgaria, but also from Greece (informant Vasile Bardu).

It is worth studying how the Aromanians have come to distinguish themselves by the group they belong to, by their extended family or by their material condition. In the past, when they settled in the Cadrilater or even after they relocated to northern Dobrogea, marriages were generally contracted within their respective Aromanian branches, yet over time people would choose spouses from other branches too:

"Atunci erau *cipanii*, cum am zis: nu se încuscreau ai noştri cu *cipanii*. Acum au ajuns mai ceva ca ai noştri, şi cu învăţătura, *cipanii* sunt peste tot." [?Aromânii se căsătoresc cu românii] "Acum se căsătoresc. Noi, din 1940 când am fost acolo, în 1940 s-a căsătorit mătuşa mea cu un bulgar. Familia n-a vrut, dar dacă s-a îndrăgostit, era cioban la ei, s-a măritat cu el, a fugit cu el. A umblat familia după ei, a prins-o, au vrut s-o ia, n-a vrut şi a rămas în Dobrogea [Cadrilater]."
"*Cipanilor*, vă spun, când eram noi în Cadrilater, nu le dădeai nici o atenţie. Nici gând să te încuscrezi cu cipanii, să dai o fată, Doamne fereşte!, dacă era una mai nu ştiu cum s-o dea la

un *cipan* mai înstărit. Nu exista, [nu se încuscreau] nici cu românii! Acum majoritatea români au" (Arita Guteanu).

Then there were the *Cipani*, as I said; our folks did not marry the *Cipani*. Yet now they fare much better than we do, including their education, so the *Cipani* are all over the place. [Do Aromanians marry Romanians?] Now they do. Take our case: in 1940 when we were still there [in the Cadrilater], my aunt married a Bulgarian. Her family didn't consent to it, but since she fell in love – he was a shepherd working for her family – she married him and run away with him. Her family chased them, caught her, wanted to take her back, but she refused and stayed in Dobrogea [Cadrilater].

I am telling you, that we paid no attention to the *Cipani* when we lived in Dobrogea. No way to become related to them and marry off your girl to one of them, God forbid, unless the girl was somewhat... strange, and then you married her off to a wealthy *Cipan*. Nor [did they marry] to Romanians either! Now, by far the majority are married to Romanians (informant Arita Guteanu).

"Sunt şi proverbe: să nu-ţi iei neveastă *fărşeroată*, să nu-ţi iei *cipană*, că nu ştiu ce se întâmplă" (Steliana Gima).

We have sayings too: do not marry a *Fărşeroata* wife, nor a *Cipană*, or you'll regret it (informant Steliana Gima).

"*Avdeliaţii* au fost cei mai elitişti dintre aromâni, trebuie recunoscut. Dintotdeauna au avut nume cu rezonanţă şi încă au. Soarta le-a fost şi le este potrivnică. Majoritatea nici nu mai vorbesc [dialectul]. Foarte ciudat! Cei din Grecia cu care am luat legătura păstrează [în vorbire] «bine» nu «*ghine*», «acum» nu «*tora*», cuvinte româneşti." [?*Cipanii* cum sunt] "Au un curaj nebunesc, confundat uneori cu tupeu şi au ajuns uneori la îndrăzneală şi chiar la nesimţire. Pentru că staţi să vedeţi! Ştiţi, se întâmplă la copiii orfani! E câte unul care răzbeşte. Cel care va răzbi dintr-un orfelinat sau o casă de copii va face de o sută de ori mai mult decât unul dintr-o familie normală, dar nefiind educat în acest spirit şi fiind tot ponegrit şi uitându-se lumea la el chiorâş se va înrăi. Aşa sunt ei. Au fost consideraţi mereu [cei din urmă]. Dom'le, eram fantastici, nici nu ne încuscream noi între noi! Nu că ei n-ar fi vrut să ia fete de-ale noastre, să nu credeţi lucruri de-astea. Vă spun o altă realitate. Îi consideram, noi, *fărşeroţii*, nedemni. Şi să ştiţi că în *fărşeroţi* i-am inclus întotdeauna şi pe *avdeliaţi* pentru că s-au integrat foarte mult cu *fărşeroţii*. În ziua de astăzi *avdeliaţii* din România nu mai sunt *avdeliaţii* din Grecia, cu identitatea lor. Noi, *fărşeroţii*, cine eram noi? Şi ştiţi cum e chestia, de paranoia: cu ăla nu vorbeşti, cu ăla nu vorbeşti. Aşa eram noi. Şi am luat români, ne-am încuscrit cu românii pe considerentul că *cipanul* era înapoiat, cu *muzăchiarul* nu aveai ce vorbi, *avdeliatul* era prea sus şi de ce să-l iei, că ăla nu ştie să muncească, ştie numai carte" (George Dima).

The *Avdeliaţi* were the most elitist of all Aromanians, we must admit. They have always had and (still) have important names. Yet fate has been and still is hostile to them. The majority do not even speak their dialect anymore. Really strange! Those in Greece who I'm in touch with say 'bine' (fine) not 'ghine', 'acum' (now) not 'tora', Romanian words. [How are the *Cipani*?] They're so enterprising as to appear insolent, and they're sometimes bold and even impudent. Bear with me. You know, this happens to orphan children! One of them comes up the hard way. He who succeeds to come up from an orphanage will achieve a hundred times more than one from a regular family, but as he was not raised in this spirit and moreover is always being looked askance and run down he will become resentful. That's the way they are. They have always been considered [the last]. Boy, we were fantastic! We didn't even intermarry! Not that they wouldn't like to get married to our girls, don't even think of it. Let me tell you another fact. We, the *Fărşeroţi* considered them unworthy. But, you know, we have always included the *Avdeliaţi* in our group, because they have mixed a great deal with us. Today the *Avdeliaţi* of Romania are no longer the *Avdeliaţi* who came from Greece, with their identity. We, the *Fărşeroţi*, who were we? You know what this is like, it's sheer paranoia: you don't talk with

this one, nor with that one. That's what we were like. So we started marrying Romanians, as the *Cipani* were backward, there was nothing to talk about with the *Muzăchiari*, while the *Avdeliati* were too haughty and why marry them anyway, they didn't know to work, they were only learned (informant George Dima).

Such information appears on blogs and social networking (http://www.cafeneaua.com/nodes/show/3672/iubirea-imposibila/1):

"Ştiu familii care ne sunt prietene, şi care ţin foarte mult la mine, dar care nu ar concepe ca fiul/fiica lor, să se căsătorească cu cineva din afara comunităţii. Şi nu întâmplător, aceste familii locuiesc în Constanţa. Acolo sunt mai mulţi *armâni* ca la noi la Bucureşti, şi comunitatea e mult mai sudată. Dacă ai ghinionul ca iubitul tău să fie şi *fărşerot* (că nu ai spus ce neam e), e şi mai greu, pentru că *fărşeroţii* nu acceptă nici măcar armâni din altă comunitate decât cea a lor, de *fărşeroţi*" (Oana Fingu, posted 27.03.2005).

I know families, friends of ours, that care a lot about me but who wouldn't even think of marrying their children outside of their community. And not accidentally, these families live in Constanţa. There are more Aromanians down there than here, in Bucharest, and their community is much more united. If you are unlucky your boyfriend to be a *Fărşerot* (because you didn't tell what family he belongs to) it is even harder because the *Fărşeroţi* do not even accept Aromanians outside of their own community] (Oana Fingu, posted 27.03.2005).

Şi un răspuns: "Nu ştiu de unde eşti aşa informată dar cred de cuviinţă să te resemnezi de la comentarii generale în vederea *fărşeroţilor* din Constanţa. *Fărşeroată* fiind (şi născută în Constanţa) am destule exemple de căsnicii în afara etniei. Iar calificaţii precum 'comunitate sudată' şi 'ghinionul de a fi *fărşerot*' sunt complet lipsite de clasă din partea ta. De ce, ar fi *cipanii* altfel în gândire? Şi nu numai... Că părinţii macedoneni îşi văd fiii drept zei, asta e altceva, şi că nevestele lor trebuie să fie din cele mai frumoase şi cele mai bogate, e şi asta un adevăr – (şi *macedoneancă* mai presus de toate). Dar nu specific *fărşeroţilor*. *Cipanii* au o expresie specifică lor în ceea ce priveşte căsnicia cu cineva non-*cipan*: '*miletii xeana*' [neam străin]. Sincer cred că trebuie să fii *macedoneancă* să înţelegi diferenţele dintre ei. Închei aici. Îmi dai impresia că ai avut 'norocul' să 'iei' cipan" (signed toteu, posted 25.05.2005)

And an answer: I don't how come you are so knowledgeable, but I think you ought to refrain from making general comments regarding the *Fărşeroţi* from Constanţa. As a *Fărşeroată* (i.e. *Fărşerot* woman) born in Constanţa, I know many cases of marriages outside the ethnic group. And epithets such as 'united community' and 'the ill luck to be born a *Fărşerot*' show you have no class. Why, do you think the *Cipani* are different? And not only... That Macedonian parents consider their sons gods, and that their wives must be most beautiful and wealthy (and above all, Macedonian), that's true. But that is not specific to the *Fărşeroţi*. The *Cipani* have a specific phrase for the marriage with someone outside their group: 'mileti xeana' [foreign people]. I do believe that that you have to be *Macedonian* to understand their differences. I will stop here. It feels like you had the 'good fortune' 'to take' a 'Cipan' (signed toteu, posted 25.05.2005).

The *Grămostean* (the *Cipan*) is considered by the *Fărşerot* primitive, uncouth, uneducated, and prone to show off their wealth. On the other hand, the *Verian* and the *Avdeliat*, coming as they do from towns and having benefited from Romanian schooling ever since their time back in Greece, are regarded as members of the Aromanian elite:

[?Aromânii au mai multe ramuri] "Noi suntem *fărşeroţi*. Sunt *avdeliaţi, plisoţi, cipani, grămosteni.*" [?*Avdeliaţii* ce sunt] "*Avdeliaţii* sunt din oraş, mai mult din oraş, tot români.

Cipanii sunt mai mult de la ţară, pe la pădure. *Plisoţi,* tot pe aici, prin Ovidiu, prin oraş." [?Ce deosebiri sunt între grămosteni şi fărşeroţi] "Sunt aceeaşi, limba, obiceiurile diferă." [?Şi portul] "Şi portul, da. Portul cu *cipanii,* dar acum acelaşi port avem. Înainte era ca portul din Macedonia." [?În Ovidiu ce sunt] "*Fărşeroţi* şi *cipani*" (Victoria Funda, Spasia Macu).

[Are there several Aromanian branches?] We are *Fărşeroţi.* There are also *Avdeliaţi, Plisoţi, Grămosteni Cipani.* [What are the *Avdelaţi*?] The *Avdeliaţi* come from town, mostly from town, Romanians too. The *Cipani* come from the countryside, by the woods. The *Plisoţi* also come from here, from Ovidiu, from town. [What are the differences between the *Grămosteni* and the *Fărşeroţi*?] They are alike, only the speech and customs are different. [The costume too?] Yes. The costume used to be different, but now ours and theirs are quite similar. Before, it used to take after that in Macedonia. [What are they in Ovidiu?] *Fărşeroţi* and *Cipani* (informants Victoria Funda, Spasia Macu).

[?Cum erau *avdeliaţii* faţă de ceilalţi aromâni] "Faţă de *cipani* şi *fărşeroţi* aveam portul mai modern. Erau mai înaintaţi puţin." [?Din ce cauză] "Eu cred că noi eram mai aproape de oraş. Când eşti mai aproape de oraş vezi şi mai departe ce se întâmplă. Era deosebire mare în privinţa traiului. *Avdeliaţii* erau mai scuturaţi, cum se zice" (Constantin Pavlicu).

[What were the *Avdeliaţi* like compared with other Aromanians?] Compared with the *Cipani* and the *Fărşeroţi* we wore a more modern costume. People were more modern. [Why?] I think because we were closer to town. When you live close to town, you are in touch with things. There was a huge difference in lifestyle. The *Avdeliaţi* were ahead, as they say (informant Constantin Pavlicu).

"Sunt mai ambiţioşi, au tupeu, femeilor le place luxul foarte mult şi să aibă cât mai mult aur pe ele, culori mai stridente. Noi nu suntem aşa, *avdeliaţii,* suntem mai discreţi. *Cipanii* au un mod mai strident de a se manifesta, de a se îmbrăca, de a se comporta. Cred că *verianii* sunt mai sobri şi sobrietatea înseamnă discreţie. Şi prin felul cum se îmbracă şi cum se comportă poţi să-ţi dai seama că e *cipană*! *Cipanii* sunt foarte descurcăreţi, cu un spirit al afacerilor foarte dezvoltat, ştiu să facă bani, ţin foarte mult la copiii lor şi îi învaţă să fie prosperi, de mici le iau maşini, au 17–18 ani şi le cumpără maşini de ultimul tip!" (Steliana Gima).

They are more ambitious, as bold as brass, their women love luxury a lot and wear a lot of golden jewels and showy colors. We, the *Avdeliaţi,* are different, we are more discreet. The *Cipani* are more strident in their behavior and clothes. I think the *Veriani* are more sober, and sobriety means discretion. You can tell they are *Cipani* by their dress and conduct! The *Cipani* are very resourceful, with a very strong sense of business, they can make a lot of money, they care a lot for their children and teach them how to succeed; they buy cars for their kids already when the latter have turned 17 or 18 years old, and the latest model! (informant Steliana Gima).

"*Cipanii* au trăit mai mult la ţară. *Fărşeroţii, avdeliaţii* au trăit la oraş, au fost oameni de oraş. Au fost mai citiţi. Acum *cipanii,* trăind la ţară şi având averi, având animale multe, au fost mai bogaţi decât cei de la oraş. Cei de la oraş au învăţat carte. Cu timpul, *cipanii,* având bani, şi-au trimis copiii la şcoală, au învăţat şi au avut ambiţie" (Zaharica Purichea)

The *Cipani* used to live mostly in the country. The *Fărşeroţi* and the *Avdeliaţi* have lived in town, they are townspeople. They've been more learned. Well, the *Cipani*, living as they did in the country and being wealthy, with a lot of livestock, were better off than the townspeople. In time, the *Cipani*, having money, sent their children to school, they learnt and were ambitious (informant Zaharica Purichea).

The *Fărşeroţi* are predisposed to art-making, being good dancers and singers and so on:

"Mie îmi plac *fărşeroţii* pentru că au talent pentru arte, cântă frumos, joacă, au stil de a dansa mult mai elevat decât alţii" (Steliana Gima).

I like the *Fărşeroţi* because they are talented, they sing beautifully, they dance, they dance in a style which is more elevated than the others' (informant Steliana Gima).

For the elderly, the incidents their families lived through in Greece and the Cadrilater are quite alive in their memories, so such people have forged clichés of the Greek and Bulgarian:

"Am fost prigoniţi prea mult". [?Pentru ce] "Nu ştiu care a fost cauza atunci. Cauza era că trebuia să te faci grec. Era obligatoriu, cum te obliga să te faci comunist aşa te obliga să te faci grec. Cine nu se făcea grec, gata. Şi am fost nevoiţi să plecăm din Grecia în Cadrilater. Pe bunicii noştri i-au omorât grecii". [?De ce, cum erau grecii] "Trebuia limba lor." [?Bulgarii cum sunt] "Câinoşi şi ei. N-ai văzut că scăpau *comitagii* în graniţă şi treceau la noi să ne omoare. Dar noi aveam arme!" [?Rude mai aveţi în Grecia] "Cum să nu! Avem" (Constantin Pocea, Vasile Muzăchiaru).

We've been much too oppressed. [Why?] I don't know what was the reason at the time. The reason was that you had to be naturalized Greek. It was mandatory: as you were forced to become communist, so you had to be naturalized Greek. Whoever didn't become Greek was doomed. So we had to emigrate from Greece to the Cadrilater. Our grandfathers were killed by Greeks. [Why, what were the Greeks like?] You had to speak their language. [What about the Bulgarians?] They were wicked too. Didn't you see that the *comitagis* crossed the border and came to kill us. But we had weapons! [Do you still have any relatives in Greece?] Oh, yes! We do (informants Constantin Pocea, Vasile Muzăchiaru).

[?Cum sunt bulgarii ca neam, că aţi trăit printre ei, ce calităţi au] "Dom'le, noi ne-am împăcat bine cu ei. Deşi erau puţine certuri între noi şi bulgari, dar în satul nostru am dus-o bine". [?Şi grecii] "Cu grecii am avut multe de-a face. Cu grecii, părinţii noştri au avut de suferit pentru limbă. Numai pentru limbă şi altceva nimic! Noi aveam şcoală românească şi veneau de la greci şi înfiinţau şcoală şi obligatoriu ne luau. Ţin minte că eram copil şi venea, din partea grecilor, învăţătoarea, şi ne dădea bomboane ca să ne ia la şcoala ei. Vedeţi, dom'le, cum erau! Şi totuşi nu mergeam! Rar, cine ştie, câte un copil se ducea. Noi [voiam] şcoală românească. Cu grecii am avut multe, în special cu limba, că trebuia să lăsăm limba şi altceva nimic. Au fost oameni care au murit pentru asta, au fost tăiaţi şi aruncaţi în apă, în râu. Astea le ştiu foarte bine că eram de 12 ani, când am plecat" (Constantin Pavlicu).

[What are the Bulgarians like, because you lived with them, what qualities do they have?] Well, we got along fine. There were a few animosities between us and the Bulgarians, but we got along well in our village. [And the Greeks?] We had a lot of trouble with the Greeks. Our parents suffered a lot at the Greeks' hands, because of the language. Only for the language and nothing else! We had our Romanian school but the Greeks would set up a Greek school and force us to attend it. I remember I was child and the Greek schoolteacher came and offered us candies to attend her school. You see, mister, how they behaved! And still we wouldn't yield! Seldom, who knows, a child might go (to the Greek school). We [wanted] Romanian school. We had a lot of trouble with the Greeks, we did, especially because of the language, because we had to give up our language and nothing else. There were people who died because of this, they were cut dead and thrown into the water, into the river. I know it very well because I was 12 years old when we left (informant Constantin Pavlicu).

The image of the Megleno-Romanians is illustrative too, for the Aromanians think that the former speak a dialect close to Romanian or that they are on the brink of linguistic assimilation. Conversely, the Megleno-Romanian sees the Aromanian as an enterprising yet conservative individual.

"Megleno-românii mai mult vorbesc româneşte decât macedoneşte. Au graiul mai apropiat de românească şi sunt amestecate şi cuvinte greceşti" (Vasile Bardu).

The Megleno-Romanians mostly speak Romanian, not Macedo-Romanian. Their speech is closer to Romanian and has borrowed some Greek words too (informant Vasile Bardu).

"Pentru mine a constituit o mare enigmă termenul de megleno-român şi megleno-românii în general. E păcat că se pierd rapid, foarte rapid. În scurt timp nu vor mai exista vorbitori de megleno-română şi acum, nu că dau termene, dar spun din fapte reale, am participat la o nuntă de megleno-români la Cerna unde naşul era un aromân, din întâmplare rudă cu mine, şi nu s-a cântat decât româneşte şi tinerii aceia nu mai ştiau [dialectul]. Acum ei au fost şi puţini, într-adevăr. Aici, în Palazu, cei care sunt megleno-români, familiile în care cel puţin mama e megleno-româncă, dacă îi întrebi ce sunt de fapt, spun că sunt *rămâni* sau aromâni. Deci ei nu-şi mai zic megleno-români, cu toate că nu e acelaşi lucru. Termenul de megleno-român este unul ştiinţific. Ei îşi spuneau *vlaşi*. Cei care au venit aici şi au făcut şcoală au învăţat că ei sunt megleno-români. De la *vlaşi* până la *rămâni* e mult" (George Dima).

The term Megleno-Romanian and the Megleno-Romanians in general have puzzled me a great deal. It's a shame that they are rapidly, very rapidly vanishing. In a short while there will be no Megleno-Romanian speakers left; now, I'm not predicting a deadline (for this), but I'm drawing on facts: once I attended a Megleno-Romanian wedding in Cerna where the godfather was an Aromanian, incidentally a relative of mine, and all the music was sung in Romanian and their youths didn't know [the dialect] anymore. It's true that they were rather few. Here, in Palazu, those who are Megleno-Romanians, the families where at least the mother is Megleno-Romanian, if you ask them what they are, they answer they're *Rămâni* or Aromanians. So they don't even call themselves Megleno-Romanians any longer, although it is not the same thing. The term Megleno-Romanian is technical. They used to call themselves *Vlaşi* (*Vlachs*). Those who came here and went to school learned that they were Megleno-Romanians. From *Vlaşi* to *Rămâni* there's a long way (informant George Dima).

In fact, the Megleno-Romanians are a distinct linguistic and historical group (calling themselves *Vlasi*). The name Megleno-Romanian is a learned name, adopted at the end of the nineteenth century, which refers to the inhabitants from Meglen region that speak the Megleno-Romanian dialect. Like the Aromanians, the Megleno-Romanians call themselves after the localities they come from: *Liumnican* (from Liumniţa), *Cupineţ* (din Cupa), *Uşineţ* (from Oşani), *Lundzineţ* (from Lundzini), *Năntineţ* (from Nânta), *Ţărnicot* (from Ţărnareca), *Birislăveţ* (from Birislav).

Although the Megleno-Romanians have a sense of inferiority relative to the Aromanians, mainly because of their traditional occupations, the latter being looked up as shepherds and important traders, they have sided nationally with the Aromanians[11].

"Am avut câteva discuţii cu megleno-românii chiar din localităţile de baştină şi i-am întrebat ce sunt. Mi-au răspuns: «Noi suntem *vlaşi*». Termenul de megleno-român nu-l cunoşteau pentru că acesta este un termen savant, deşi îşi aduceau aminte sau auziseră de Gustav Weigand, cel care-i descoperise, ce făcuse cercetări de teren în ţinutul Megleniei. La primăria

[11] „Mi-aduc aminte că, pe vremea aceea, când mă aflam şi eu în apropierea lor, lucrând pentru triumful cauzei noastre, a fost un moment – singurul din întreaga perioadă de frământări culturale la Românii din Peninsula Balcanică – când idealul acţiunii noastre reuşise să se realizeze într-un singur colţ din Macedonia. Acest colţ era ţinutul Meglenului" (Capidan 1928: 13–14).

"I remember that at the time, when I was close to them, working for the success of our cause, there was a moment – the only one in this age of cultural unrest of the Romanians from the Balkan Peninsula – when our ideal of action had succeeded in just one corner of Macedonia. That corner was the county of Meglen" (Capidan 1928: 13–14).

din Liumnița am înțeles că lăsase un exemplar din lucrarea lui, *Vlaho-Meglen*, apărută la Leipzig în 1892. Ei își spun *vlași*. De același termen se folosesc însă și la denumirea aromânilor. Însă la întrebarea mea «De ce aromânilor le spuneți *vlași*, pentru că și voi sunteți tot *vlași*», ei mi-au răspuns, o parte din ei, că aromânii sunt *pragmatikovlași*, adică *vlași* pragmatici. Explicația este una, zic eu, relativ simplă. Deși au avut o origine comună cu aromânii și ocupațiile au fost aceleași, la origini și megleno-românii fiind păstori, o dată cu coborârea în ținutul Megleniei și găsirea unui teren propice practicării agriculturii și a creșterii viermilor de mătase, albinăritului, au trecut treptat de la practicarea oieritului la practicarea agriculturii, chiar și a comerțului. Nu poți să faci agricultură fără să faci implicit și comerț, să crești animale. Însă de ce aromânii sunt *vlași* pragmatici, după părerea mea? Pentru că aromânii au fost excelenți și și-au păstrat această calitate de mari *celnici*, mari crescători de oi, mari *chervanagii*, comercianți și din punct de vedere financiar sau al posibilităților materiale erau mai bogați decât megleno-românii" (Virgil Coman).

I had few conversations with Megleno-Romanians in their very native localities and I asked them what they were. They answered: 'We are *Vlași*' [Vlachs]. The term Megleno-Romanian was unknown to them because it is a learned term, even though they remembered or heard of Gustav Weigand, the one who had discovered them and had done field work in Meglen County. At the village hall of Liumnița I found out that he had left a copy of his work *The Vlaho-Meglen*, published in Leipzig in 1892. They call themselves '*Vlași*.' But they use the same word for Aromanians too. Yet in answer to my question, 'Why do you call Aromanians *Vlași*, you are *Vlași* too,' some of them argued that the Aromanians are *pragmatikovlași*, namely pragmatic *Vlași* [Vlachs]. I guess the explanation is relatively simple. Although the Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians had a common origin and the same occupations, as originally the latter too had been shepherds, since their arrival in the region of Meglen, with its excellent land for agriculture, silkworm breeding and apiculture, the Megleno-Romanians had gradually shifted away from sheep breeding and began practicing agriculture and even trade. You cannot practice agriculture without trade and cattle breeding. But why are the Aromanians pragmatic *Vlași* [Vlachs], in my opinion? Because the Aromanians were excellent and have preserved this quality of big *celnici*, great sheep breeders, great *chervanagii*, traders, and financially they were wealthier than the Megleno-Romanians (informant Virgil Coman).

Looking for commonalities with the Romanian regional goups in Romania, the Megleno-Romanians discovered that linguistically and ethnographically they have similarities with people from Oltenia. Therefore, they concluded that in the old days their ancestors had left Oltenia; historically and linguistically this cannot be ruled out completely:

"Eram sub dominație turcă și țineam până la apa Vardar. Dincolo de Vardar începea regiunea Salonicului. Noi, în comună, sub dominație turcă, aveam școală românească, biserică românească. Bunicul meu din partea mamei era preot. Când a venit aici în România, în 1926, bunica mea a primit pensie. După 1912, după ce au plecat turcii, au venit grecii. Și grecii au închis școlile românești, au distrus bisericile și au adus numai personal grec. Se semnase o scrisoare între Venizelos și Titu Maiorescu. Venizelos [prim-ministru al Greciei] era în 1921. Au avut în 1921 război turcii cu grecii. Și atunci era Venizelos. Și au făcut schimb de populație. Și atunci au plecat de-ai noștri și au venit în România. Și aici au înființat o societate [Meglenia]. Și au făcut o asociație ca să-i atragă pe *megleniți* de acolo, să vină la adevărata lor țară. Pentru că noi, strămoșii noștri, sunt plecați din timpul când devastau România, adică Dacia". [?Să lămurim puțin problema: ce sunt megleno-românii] "Megleno-românii sunt așa: com. Țărnareca, Liumnița, Lundzini, Cupa, Oșani, Birislav și Nânta. Ei, în Nânta asta, erau toți megleno-români, însă, în timpul dominației turce, s-au turcit. Limba nu și-au lăsat-o. Nici portul. Dar au schimbat forma." [?Cine sunt megleno-românii, de unde se trag] "Megleno-românii se trag din Oltenia. Noi avem multe cu oltenii. Noi spunem «*ai*» la usturoi și ei spun

pe olteneşte tot «*ai*». Însă, în timpul când un copil a mâncat '*ai*' şi când l-a usturat, a început să strige 'mă ustură, mă ustură!' şi a rămas usturoi. Dar mulţi din Oltenia tot '*ai*' îi zic. Cred că din teritoriul ăsta al Olteniei. Aromânii sunt cam din Maramureş, cam de acolo. Cu obiceiurile se cam aseamănă" (Atanase Suca).

We were under the Turks and we lived all the way to the Vardar river. Beyond the Vardar lay the region of Salonic (Thessalonika). Under the Turks, we had a Romanian school and Romanian church in our commune. My maternal grandparent was a priest. When she came here, to Romania, in 1926, my grandmother received a pension. After 1912, when the Turks left, the Greeks came in their stead. And they closed down the Romanian schools, broke down the churches and brought in Greek personnel only. An agreement had been signed between Venizelos and Titu Maiorescu. Venizelos [the prime minister of Greece] was in 1921. In 1921 the Greeks were at war with the Turks. That was the time of Venizelos. And they exchanged population. And our folks left (Greece) and came to Romania. And here they founded a society [Meglenia]. And they founded an association, to lure the Megleno-Romanians away (from Meglen), to (make them) come to their true country. Because we, our ancestors have been away since the time of the devastation of Romania, I mean Dacia. [Let's clarify this issue a little: what are the Megleno-Romanians?] The Megleno-Romanians are like that: the villages of Ţărnareca, Liumniţa, Lundzini, Cupa, Oşani, Birislav and Nânta. Well, in Nânta, everyone was Megleno-Romanian but, during the Turkish domination they all converted to Islam. They did not abandon their language. Nor their costume. But they changed the form. [Who are the Megleno-Romanians. Where do they come from?] The Megleno-Romanians come from Oltenia. We have many (things in common) with the people from Oltenia. We call the garlic '*ai*' and so do they. Yet, when a child ate '*ai*' (*usturoi*, garlic) and it felt hot (Rom. *a ustura*), he cried, 'mă ustura!' (it's hot!), thence the name *usturoi*, garlic. Yet many folks in Oltenia still call it '*ai*'. I believe they (the Megleno-Romanians) are from this region, from Oltenia. The Aromanians come from around Maramureş, from around there. Their customs are quite similar (informant Atanase Suca).

[?Acum, ce credeţi, cum se autodefinesc megleno-românii] "Noi suntem români". [?Români de unde] "În istoria noastră spune aşa: noi, românii, suntem toţi plecaţi din partea Olteniei, că, pe timpul barbarilor, noi am trăit 500 de ani sub turci în Grecia. În Grecia, acolo, sub *bey* trăiau." [?De ce sunteţi oltean, care e legătura] "*Apu* la apă. *Pâni* la pâine. Înţelegi, cinci sute de ani sub turci şi sub bulgari, limba românească s-a reintrodus şi cu alte cuvinte." [?Dar de ce cu oltenii şi nu cu moldovenii] "Dom'le, cam aşa e după port, că părinţii mei când au venit aici stăteau şi la joc, şi la joc joacă oltenii, hei..." (Hristu Noice).

[Now, how do you think the Megleno-Romanians define themselves?] We are Romanians. [Romanians from where exactly?] Our history says that we, the Romanians, all left Oltenia, that at the time of the barbarian invasions we lived five hundred years under the Turks in Greece. There, in Greece, we lived under the *bey*. [Why should you be from Oltenia, what is the connection?] *Apu* for *apă*, water. *Păni* for *pâine*, bread. You see, five hundred years under the Turks and the Bulgarians, the Romanian language was reintroduced with other words too. [But why (are you like) the people from Oltenia and not from Moldavia?] Why, you can tell it's so by their conduct, because my parents, when they came here they went dancing too, and that's what people from Oltenia do, they dance, you know... (informant Hristu Noice).

[?Ce este cu povestea că megleno-românii se aseamănă cu oltenii; se poate confirma sau cineva i-a învăţat] "Din câte ştiu, în 1979, muzicologul Gheorghe Oprea a făcut o cercetare folclorică în comuna Cerna şi a observat o serie de asemănări între megleno-români şi olteni. Şi le-a spus: «Dom'le, voi vă asemănaţi puţin cu oltenii!» De aici ideea a prins. Nu putem să negăm şi alte fapte. Spre exemplu: megleno-românii şi oltenii fac pâinea în ţest. Ţestul oltenilor îl regăsim şi la megleno-români. Există asemănări între megleno-români şi olteni, există şi între megleno-români şi bănăţeni, şi aşa mai departe, însă a afirma că ei sunt olteni este o greşeală, aceasta este părerea mea. În 1996, când efectuam cercetări de teren la Cerna, în discuţia cu moş Suca Atanase, acesta spunea: „Am fost în concediu la Băile Herculane şi am

văzut un oltean îmbrăcat în costum popular şi am crezut că-i *meglenit* de-al nostru. «Dom'le, zice, de unde sunteţi?» «Din Oltenia.» «Dom'le, şi noi avem portul acesta, eu sunt megleno-român din Cerna»". Ei, de aici, moş Suca trăgea această concluzie, el fiind un om mai în vârstă. Ideea s-a propagat în rândul megleno-românilor din Cerna" (Virgil Coman).

[What is this story that the Megleno-Romanians are like the people from Oltenia. Can it be confirmed or did someone teach them about it?] As far as I know, in 1979 musicologist Gheorghe Oprea did field research in Cerna and noted some similarities between the Megleno-Romanians and the people from Oltenia. And he told them: 'Why, you are a little like the people from Oltenia!' And this put ideas into the people's heads. We cannot deny other facts either. For instance, both the Megleno-Romanians and the people from Oltenia bake their bread in a clay pot in the oven... There are similarities between the Megleno-Romanians and the people from Oltenia, between the Megleno-Romanians and the people from Banat and so forth, but to state that the former are from Oltenia is a mistake, in my opinion. In 1996, when I was doing field work in Cerna, old Suca Atanase told me once: 'I was on vacation at Băile Herculane and I noticed someone from Oltenia dressed in a popular costume and I thought he was one of us, a Megleno-Romanian from Cerna. "Sir, he said, where are you from?" "From Oltenia." "Why, we dress as you do, and I'm a Megleno-Romanian from Cerna." This is how old Suca came up with this idea. And as he was a venerable old man, the idea spread among the Megleno-Romanians from Cerna] (informant Virgil Coman).

With regard to Aromanians, I have come across the notion that they are similar to the people from Transylvania, that they actually come from Transylvania. The notion has only a psycho-social but no scientific value:

[?Aromânii ce sunt] "Sunt români plecaţi din Ardeal, au trecut prin Serbia, dincolo, în Grecia." [?Asta când] "Asta nu mai ştiu în ce an. În anii lor." [?De unde ştiţi] "Din Ardeal sunt, dacă eu vă spun că sunt din Ardeal! Au trecut prin Serbia, au trecut la Muntenegru şi acolo sunt *avdeliaţi* de-ai noştri. Vin strănepoţii, nepoţii să ne mai întâlnim şi noi" (Maria Cioară).

[What are the Aromanians?] They are Romanians who left Transylvania and crossed Serbia to Greece. [When?] I don't know the year. Long ago. [How do you know?] They're from Transylvania, I promise you they are from Transylvania! They crossed Serbia to Montenegro, where our *Avdeliaţi* live. Our great-grandsons and grandsons come to see us (informant Maria Cioară).

"Din punct de vedere muzical, muzica aromânească aduce mai mult cu doinele ardeleneşti şi bănăţene. Deci interferenţa dintre Ardeal şi Banat. Unde ai să întâlneşti aromâni, *rămâni* cum spunem noi, e imposibil să nu auzi muzică bănăţeană sau muzică ardelenească. La nunţi, dacă se cântă ardeleneşte sau bănăţeană din zona Timişoarei, e sufletul nostru. Nu moldoveneşte. Simţim că avem afinităţi cu ardelenii" (Zaharica Purichea).

Musically speaking, Aromanian music is rather similar to the doina (Romanian folk song) from Transylvania and Banat, hence (it shows) the interrelation between Transylvania and Banat. Where you find Aromanians, *Rămâni* as we say, you will also hear music from Banat or Transylvania. At weddings, if music from Transylvania or Banat, from around Timişoara, is being played, we wax quite emotional. Not music from Moldavia. We feel we have affinities with the people from Transylvania (informant Zaharica Purichea).

[?Aromânii, macedo-românii ce sunt] "Văd că în carte scrie că suntem din traci. Părerea mea, de exemplu, e că sunt plecaţi din Munţii Apuseni, *mucani*" (Tache Cealera).

[What are the Aromanians, the Macedo-Romanians?] As I see, the (history) book says we have Thracian ancestors. If you ask me, they come from the Apuseni Mountains, *Mucani* (informant Tache Cealera).

[?Dar am aflat mai devreme că aromânii se trag din Ardeal] "Dom'le, se poate şi asta pentru că ardelenii au aceleaşi obiceiuri ca şi noi. De exemplu: la zăpadă ei îi spun *nea* şi noi *neauă* îi spunem. De exemplu vino-ncoace, ei zic *ghino*, *ghino-ncoace*, noi tot aşa zicem. Avem foarte

multe cuvinte pe care le folosim din partea Ardealului. Atâtea bordeie, atâtea obiceie! De aici provin schimbările astea de cuvinte. Fiecare, acolo unde a trăit, dacă majoritatea au fost printre greci au împrumutat foarte multe cuvinte greceşti şi folosesc cuvinte greceşti printre cuvinte aromâneşti. De exemplu la teslă grecii îi spun *skipare*, noi tot la fel spunem, *skipel*. Am împrumutat multe cuvinte" (Vasile Giuvara).

[But I learned earlier that the Aromanians come from Transylvania?] Why, that too might be correct, because the people from Transylvania have the same customs as we do. For example: they say *nea* for Rom. zăpadă (snow) and we say *neauă*. Take the Romanian vino-ncoace (come here), they say *ghino*, *ghino-ncoace*, and so do we. We have a great many words in use that come from Transylvania. All bread is not baked in one oven. That's where these word exchanges originate. Everybody, where they lived, if the majority were among the Greeks they borrowed Greek words and use Greek words alongside Aromanian words. For example, the Greeks say *skipare* for adze and we say the same, *skipel*. We've borrowed lots of words (informant Vasile Giuvara).

My view is that the Megleno-Romanians, like the Aromanians, wished, after they emigrated to the Cadrilater, to be regarded as "real Romanians" and thus looked for identification with historical Romanian groups. In the interwar period, Tache Papahagi suggested tentatively the similarity of the Aromanians to the people from Maramureş: "...due to various historical-geographical circumstances directly connected with sheepherding, the Romanian element from the south of Danube would have reached in its migrations the northern parts of Daco-Romania, thus also settling in Maramureş". There are other, mainly linguistic studies, which emphasize such features of speech as some branches of Aromanians share in common with populations from Romanian regions. Nicolae Saramandu wrote, for instance: "Going back to Aromanian, we ought to note that this dialect gets closer to Daco-Romanian dialects from the north-west; certain Aromanian dialectal groups (Fârşerot, Moscopolean) are very close to these dialects"[12].

It might be possible such identity similarities to originate in the nature of their occupation, sheepherding. In fact, the Aromanians call the Daco-Romanians *Mucani*, with no further specification. The idea that "we are Aromanians, you are Mucani," is preserved since the age of transhumance across vast territories, when the Aromanian shepherds, the *păcurari*, encountered their Romanian counterparts, the *mucani*. Despite any historical or educational developments, the notion that all Romanians are *mucani* is still generalized with the Aromanians' parlance:

[?De ce le ziceţi la români, *mucani*] "Asta a rămas fiindcă erau cu oile. Nu ştiu cum a rămas denumirea asta. Când au venit în România din Albania le-a zis, în loc de români, *mucani*. A rămas cuvântul ăsta" (Gh. Tudor).

[Why do you call the Romanians *Mucani*?] That's because they were shepherds. I don't know how this name has caught on. When they came from Albania to Romania they called them, instead of Romanians, *Mucani*. And the word has caught on (informant Gh. Tudor).

"Le mai spuneam şi mămăligari la început, că mâncau mămăligă. Când am venit din Durostor şi am făcut schimbul, când am stat la o familie în Ialomiţa, făceau mămăligă şi o tăiau cu aţa. Ai noştri nu ştiau să facă mămăligă. O tăiau cu aţa!" (Domnica Stilu).

[12] Saramandu 1979: 287.

We called them, at the beginning, *Mămăligari*, because they ate *mămăligă*, polenta. When we came from Durostor through the exchange of population, we lodged with this family in Ialomiţa county and they made *mămăliga*, polenta and sliced it with a thread. Our folks didn't know to cook polenta. To slice it with a thread! (informant Domnica Stilu).

"Eu am o mătuşă în America, are aproape o sută de ani. E plecată din '35-'36. Când ne-am dus noi acolo, ziceam: «Uite, *mucanii*!», adică din România. «De ce la spuneţi aşa? *Mucani* sunt doar ăia de la munte! Voi le spuneţi *mucani* la toţi? Păi se poate aşa ceva!» Nu voia." [?De ce ne spuneţi *mucani*] "Şi *mucanii* de la munte, în general, fac păstoritul ca şi noi. Aşa zicem noi, nu ştiu, am apucat aşa. Şi la noi le spune, dacă eşti *machidon*, *ţânţar*, un fel de poreclă" (Viorica Tudor, Gh. Tudor).

I have this aunt in America, she is almost one hundred years old. She emigrated in 1935 or '36. When we went over there, we used to say: 'Look, the *Mucani*!', namely, people from Romania. 'Why do you call them like this? *Mucani* are only the people from the mountains. Do you call all of them *Mucani*? How come?' She refused (to accept our term). [Why do you call us *Mucani*?] Because generally, the *Mucani* from the mountains are shepherds, like us. That's how we call them, I don't know, it's always been like that. Just as here we call the *Machidon* (Macedo-Romanian), *Ţânţar* (Tsintsar), that's a sort of nickname" (informants Viorica Tudor, Gh. Tudor).

Aromanian informants (2003 interviews):

Vasile Bardu, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in Papadia (Greece) in 1921, arrived with his family in Deidali village, Durostor County; relocated to Mihail Kogălniceanu, Constanţa County in 1940.

Tache Cealera, *Verian Aromân*, born in Xirolivad village (Greece) in 1918, arrived with his family in the Cadrilater in 1923, relocated to Techirghiol, Constanţa County in 1940.

Maria Cioară, *Pruian Aromân*, born in Poroi village (Greece) in 1926, relocated to Tariverde, Constanţa County in 1940.

George Dima, *Plisot Fărşerot*, born in 1976, theological studies, lives in Palazu Mare.

Victoria Funda, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in Cândrova (Greece) in 1921, arrived with her family in Enigea, Caliacra County in 1925, relocated to Ovidiu, Constanţa County in 1940.

Steliana Gima, *Pruian-Verian Aromân*, born in Techirghiol in 1977, BA, lives in Techirghiol, Constanţa County.

Vasile Giuvara, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in Hurupani village (Greece) in 1925, arrived with his family in Viişoara, Durostor County in 1926, relocated to Cogealac, Constanţa County in 1940.

Arita Guteanu, *Verian*, born in Veria (Greece) in 1928, arrived with her family in Cavarna, Caliacra County in 1928, relocated to Techirghiol, Constanţa County in 1940.

Spasia Macu, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in Caliacra County in 1932, relocated to Ovidiu, Constanţa County in 1964.

Vasile Muzăchiaru, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in 1933; in 1940 relocated from the Cadrilater to Cogealac, Constanţa County.

Constantin Pavlicu, *Verian Aromân*, born in Veria (Greece) in 1914, arrived with his family in Izghiubârlâc village, Caliacra County in 1926, relocated to Techirghiol, Constanţa County in 1940.

Constantin Pocea, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in 1923; in 1940 relocated from the Cadrilater to Cogealac, Constanţa County.

Zaharica Purichea, *Şopan Fărşerot*, born in Palazu Mare, Constanţa County in 1957.

Domnica Stilu, *Plisot Fărşerot*, born in 1930; in 1940 relocated from Pleasa (Albania) to Palazu Mare, Constanţa County.

Gheorghe Tudor, *Plisot Fărşerot*, born in 1935; in 1940 relocated from the Cadrilater to Palazu Mare, Constanţa County.

Viorica Tudor, *Plisot Fărşerot*, born in 1937; in 1940 relocated from the Cadrilater to Palazu Mare, Constanţa County.

Megleno-Romanian informants (2001 interviews):

Virgil Coman, born in 1974, BA, lives in Constanţa.

Hristu Noice, born in Lungunţa village (Greece) in 1925, arrived in Doimuşlar, Durostor County in 1926, relocated to Cerna, Tulcea County in 1940.

Atanase Suca, born in Liumniţa village (Greece) in 1915, arrived with his family in Vischioi, Durostor County in 1926, relocated in Cerna, Tulcea County in 1940.

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AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS, ROMA/GYPSIES AND OLD BELIEVERS IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DOBRUDZHA

YELIS EROLOVA

ABSTRACT

This paper focused on the current situation and development trends within the different ethnic communities of Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Russian Old Believers in Romanian and Bulgarian Dobrudzha. Following *diaspora* concept of Gabriel Sheffer and Rogers Brubaker, this study addresses the question: How those communities, living in two countries, (re)construct their ethnicity and identity, and react to the modern political and socio-economic realities? The ethnic identity is examined by historical-ethnological research methodology in context of ethnic belonging and traditions, socio-economic environment they live in, and the former socialist and modern democratic government's policy.

Keywords: Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies, Old Believers, Dobrudzha, diaspora, identity.

INTRODUCTION

Under the influence of complicate policies, ethnic communities follow certain trends of development and identity construction in the way to preserve their own ethno-cultural traditions and customs. The paper is focused on the case studies of three different types of communities – Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Old Believers in Bulgaria and Romania, who inhabit the geographical-historical region of Dobrudzha[1], Being different *diaspora* communities (according to Robin Cohen's classification of ideal types diaspora), they share the common characteristics as "dispersal from an original homeland... to two or more regions", "a strong ethnic

[1] Official number of Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Old Believers in Dobrudzha (source: population censuses in Bulgaria and Romania):

	1992		2001/2002	
	Northern Dobrudzha	Southern Dobrudzha	Northern Dobrudzha	Southern Dobrudzha
Crimean Tatars	24 265	4 515	23 409	Approx. 1 600
Roma/Gypsies	5 983	21 780	8 295	25 127
Old Believers (Lipovani)	26 154	Approx. 700	21 623	Approx. 500

group consciousness", etc.[2] Being "ethno-national diaspora" in terms of Gabriel Sheffer's analysis, one of the most important elements of their present profile is the readiness to maintain their ethno-national identity and to identify with their communities and homelands. The main dilemma in their new lives is related to the fear of their eventual assimilation within the host-society on the one hand and the desire to maintain on the other hand[3]. Rogers Brubaker examines the diaspora as community that is being formed not by "people crossing boundaries", but rather by "boundaries crossing people"[4]. In the conceptual context, presented in this paper an important question to the understanding of *diaspora* is: How do the same communities, living in two neighbouring countries, (re)construct their ethnicity and identity, and react to the modern political and socio-economic realities? The empirical material has been drawn by ethnographic interlocutions and observations conducted among Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Old Believers[5] from 2006 to 2010 in Northern (Constanța and Tulcea districts) and Southern Dobrudzha (Silistra and Dobrich districts)[6].

The current situation of the Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Old Believers is due to the earlier socialist government's policy (1944–1989) and the political and socio-economic changes in both countries after 1989. Romanian Constitution from 1991 recognizes the ethnic minorities and gives them certain privileges.[7] According to Bulgarian Constitution from 1991, all citizens have equal rights. They have the right of freedom of language, religion, self-identification by ethnicity and origin (Art. 6, Art. 13 and Art. 37). The Basic Law does not allow the formation of parties on an ethnic, racial or religious basis (Art. 11, p. 4)[8]. Bulgaria recognized the ethnic minorities de facto by ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1999.

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[2] Cohen 2008: 18.

[3] Sheffer 2003: 111–113.

[4] Brubaker 1996.

[5] Research methodology includes work with an academic literature, documents of local and national NGOs, statistic, media and internet sources. The ethnographic field study included purposeful interlocution, interview, life-story method, and first-hand observation. Interlocutors have different age, ethnicity and social status. During my field studies I had to use different ways to "enter" into the studied communities. According my experience, the most important for each researcher' behaviour is to show sincerity and respect to them and their cultural values.

[6] The Bulgarian-Romanian state border (crossing at the studied region) was established by the Agreement of Craiova (1940), later confirmed by the Treaty of Paris (1947) (Bayeva and Kalinova 2003; 2006).

[7] The state guarantees the minorities' right to preserve, develop and express ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity (Art. 6). Ethnic minorities are entitled to participate in the central authority of the country by choosing a representative in the Chamber of Deputies (Art. 62, p. 2). Ethnic minorities' organizations have the right to participate in the local elections and to broadcast their local councilors and mayors (Constitution of the Republic of Romania).

[8] Despite this constitutional ban on forming political parties on ethnic and religious ground a number of "ethnic" parties in Bulgaria were established and use the support of a particular ethnic electorate.

CRIMEAN TATARS

The Crimean Tatars settled in Dobrudzha in several main waves after 1476, when the Crimean Khanate was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire; after 1783, when Russia conquered the Crimea; after the 1806–1812 Russo-Turkish War (when the region of Budzhak was incorporated into the Russian Empire); and especially after the Crimean War (1853–1856). Today's Crimean Tatars in Bulgaria and Romania are descended mainly from the Crimean Tatars who emigrated after the Crimean War[9].

Political context

At the end of the 19th c. and beginning of the 20th c. a national movement for cultural, political and territorial autonomy emerged among the Crimean Tatars in the Crimea[10]. The first Crimean Tatar Congress (*Qurultay)*, held in November-December 1917, declared restoration of national government and adopted the first Constitution in the history of the Crimea. As a result of the political changes in the Crimea in the 1920s and 30s, Dobrudzha (which was part of Romania from 1919 to 1940) became a centre of Crimean Tatar activity and national awakening[11]. In the 1920s Crimean Tatar leaders in Dobrudzha attended the foundation of the Turkic Cultural and Educational Association. A politically oriented cultural and educational journal "Emel" (Ideal), was launched in 1930 and became the first and most important organ of the Crimean Tatar diaspora. It connected the Crimean Tatar political activists of Dobrudzha, the Crimea and Turkey[12].

In May 1944, Joseph Stalin (1924–1953) accused the Crimean Tatars of collaborating with Nazis and ordered their deportation to Kazakhstan, the Urals and Siberia, and especially to Uzbekistan[13]. There were single cases of Crimean Tatars who avoided deportation and settled hidden in Romania. In 1954 the Crimea was incorporated into the Ukraine as an administrative-territorial unit (*oblast*).

Changes in the status and territorial-administrative borders of Dobrudzha after 1940 led to the division of the community and to new trends in its development within the two different countries. The unity of the community was destroyed by the discontinuance of the marriage, kin and social relations between its members from Northern and Southern Dobrudzha.

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[9] Ülküsal 1980: 134–135; Karpat 1986: 275–305; Vozgrin 1992: 283–297.

[10] Kullberg 2004: 23–30; Kırımlı 1996.

[11] The 1923 Romanian Constitution allowed creation of civic organizations of ethnic minorities, and Crimean Tatars developed their cultural, educational and socio-political activities.

[12] Popovic 1976: 195–197.

[13] Guboglo and Chervonnaya 1992: 80–83.

The policy towards Crimean Tatars in Bulgaria and Romania during the so-called "socialist period" was inconsistent and had specific aspects. They were treated as representatives of the local Turkish communities and the official attitude towards them depended on state foreign policy and relations with Turkey. On the other hand, there was an effort to differentiate them from the Turkish community, especially in Bulgaria during the 1960s. The socialist governments in Bulgaria conducted an expulsion policy towards Muslims in the country in 1950–1951, 1969–1978 and 1989, which directly affected Crimean Tatars as well[14]. In Romania until 1956, there was a deliberately policy towards Crimean Tatars, which identified them as a separate ethnic community or as one community with the Turkish minority and/or as a religious community. Until the end of the 1950s, the political attitude towards Crimean Tatars depended on the policy of the Soviet authorities in the Crimea. Hundreds of people were deported from Dobrudzha to the region of Bărăgan in southcentral Romania. After the 1950s it was assumed that the Communist Party had resolved all national problems related to the minorities, including the Crimean Tatars, and that they were fully integrated into the country's economic, social and cultural life[15].

In both Bulgaria and Romania the highly educated stratum of Crimean Tatars was formed during the so-called "socialist period". After 1989 this stratum has become active, functioning as the *political and intellectual elite* of the community. Crimean Tatars in Northern Dobrudzha founded a cultural and political organization "Uniunea Democrată a Tătarilor Turco Musulmani din Romania" – UDTTMR[16]. In Bulgaria, Crimean Tatars are organized in two cultural NGOs – "Asabai" (Vetovo) and "Nawrez" (Dobrich). They maintain their community life organized around common cultural customs and values. The political preferences of Crimean Tatars in Bulgaria are related to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), whose electorate includes Bulgarian Turks. MRF supports Crimean Tatar representatives' participation in the local and central government, which leads to the *ethnicisation* of the electorate, especially when it comes to the votes of Bulgarian Turks.

Nowadays, the representatives of the Tatar organizations in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha keep in contact with one another and exchange visits on various holidays. Some of the Tatars in Northern Dobrudzha even comment with a sense of humor that they have an advantage as regards Bulgaria and Romania's EU membership, because they had long ago established relations between them unlike the Bulgarians and Romanians. In their words, the contacts between the

[14] Stoyanov 1998: 82, 198–199; Eminov 2002: 584–591.

[15] Andreescu 2005: 124–128.

[16] UDTTMR participates actively in the local and central elections in Romania. The organization released two monthly journals – "Cas" (Youth) and "Kara deniz" (Black Sea). Female association, student ("Liga Studentilor Turco-Tătari din România") and Youth Organization (Organizația de Tineret 'Ismail Gaspirali') are founded as part of its structure with main headquarters in Constanța.

Tatars on both sides will be more active and even marriages could be expected from now on.

In the beginning of the 21st c., according to the official statistics, the numbers of Crimean Tatars in Bulgaria and Romania have been decreasing[17]. According to off-the-record data, the total number of the Crimean Tatars in Romania is 30–40 thousand people[18]. In Bulgaria their unofficial number varies between 2 000 and 3 000 people[19]. In both countries, there exists a tendency of decreasing due to negative natural growth, migration processes (country members of EU and Turkey), and assimilation by the surrounding Turkish population.

Historical memory and notion of Tatarlık

According to Gabriel Sheffer, the historical memory (personal and collective) is a very important element not only for understanding the development of diaspora community, but also for distinguishing its members from various types of transient migrants[20]. The Crimean Tatars' ethnicity and identity that has formed has two basic components: a historical memory about the Crimea as their homeland and the notion of *Tatarlık* that includes a number of cultural elements and characteristics (family, calendar and community gatherings and holidays, anthropological features, religious belonging, moral qualities, dress, food, dwelling, folklore and so on). The Crimea is a starting point of their historical memory and interlocutors often start their stories with their migration from the Crimea to Dobrudzha. Most of them stress on (usually as an addition to their group name and origin) the fact that they remember their past: "We came from Crimea... We are all from Crimea". In connection with general group notions of the homeland which they self-identify with, the members of community prefer using definite set of symbols: a geographic map of the Crimea, the Crimean Tatar national flag (with Giray taraq tamğa)[21],

[17] Source: Population census in Bulgaria and Romania.

[18] They inhabit the towns of Constanţa, Medgidia, Babadag, Năvodari, Murfatlar, Mangalia, Eforie, Tulcea and the villages of Valu lui Traian, Ovidiu, Valea Dacilor, Agigea, Castelu, Valea Seacă, Poarta Albă, Negru Vodă, Pelinu, Nisipari, Cobadin, Lumina, Techirghiol, Mihail Kogălniceanu, etc.

[19] They live in the towns of Dobrich, Balchik, Silistra, Tervel, Dulovo and the villages of Topola, Kapinovo, Lomnitza, Gurkovo, Yovkovo, Belogradetz, Sokolovo, Bobovetz, Severnjak, Professor Ishirkovo, Capitan Dimitrovo, Liuljakovo, Onogur, Sredishte, Batovo, Cherkovna, Spasovo, Lyuben, etc.

[20] Sheffer 2003: 111.

[21] One of the most popular symbols of the Crimean Tatar community in Dobrudzha is their flag – a blue flag with a yellow/golden emblem that was the family emblem of the Giray Dynasty that ruled the Crimean Khanate. It personifies the Crimea as the homeland, the cradle of the formation of the Crimean Tatar ethnos, the connection between generations and folk traditions, the ideal of honour, freedom and independence. The Crimean Tatar flag began to be used actively after the February 1917 Revolution in Russia. In 1991 the Crimean Tatar flag was adopted as a national flag of Crimean Tatars by the *Qurultay* (the National Assembly of Crimean Tatars in the Crimea). The Giray *tamğa* is popularised among the community through clothes (ties, women's artistic costumes, books published by the organisation of Crimean Tatars, public events, etc. For example, the Crimean Tatar national flag was displayed above a door of a mosque in the Romanian town of Eforie on the community' holidays of Kadarlez in 2007.

traditional Crimean Tatar costume, and photographs of cultural and political events and of eminent Crimean Tatar public figures, such as Mustafa Abdülcemil Kırımoğlu[22], Ismail Gaspirali (Gaspirab, Gasprinsky)[23], and others. The use of symbols laden with ethno (national) content inside and outside the community's organisational centres on festive occasions indicates Crimean Tatar self-perception ethnicity and ethno-national unity.

Crimean Tatars' memories regarding their settlement in Dobrudzha have maintained their sense of belonging to the region as "dobrogeni", "dobrudzhantzi". According to the Tatars from Balchik, their ancestors had chosen this place because the scenery and the sand reminded them of Yalta (Crimea). Indeed, there are two points typical for the regional memory of the studied community. The Crimean Tatars in Northern Dobrudzha do not use the historical term "Cadrilater", popular within Romanian society for south Dobrudzhan area (used as administrative name, when the region was part of the Romanian state). They use same name – "Dobrudzha" for both parts of the region. The next important aspect is social division of "locals" and "resettlers" (so-called "preseltzi", "preselnitzi" – Southern Dobrudzha, "colonizatori" – Northern Dobrudzha). Those people who have lived in the Southern Dobrudzha or respectively Northern Dobrudzha before 1940 are considered for "local" and "old" residents. In Southern Dobrudzha, this social division between "locals" and "resettlers" continues and determines the daily contacts and formation of local neighborhoods.

Parallel to the different dimensions of their historical and regional memory, Crimean Tatars maintain the idea of ethnicity by the notions of *Tatarlık*. It is associated with a number of ethno-cultural elements, practices and traditions indicating or *proving* ethnic belonging to the community. The anthropological type of the Crimean Tatars is often used as a criterion for defining their ethnic belonging. A *pure-blooded Tatar* is considered someone with Mongoloid eyes, a broad face and pronounced cheekbones. Depending on the situation, interlocutors may identify through physical-anthropological and cultural differences on sub-ethnic level as Nogais or the Tats. Most important marker for *Tatarlık* is the use of Crimean Tatar language and affiliation to the Islamic faith. The proficiency and usage of Crimean Tatar language is a criterion for the ethnic *authenticity*. Failure to

[22] Known also by his Ukrainian family name Dzhemilev, Mustafa Abdülcemil Kırımoğlu is the Chairman of the Medzhlis (National Assembly) of the Crimean Tatar People.

[23] Ismail Gaspirali or Gasprinsky was a leading figure in the history of the Crimean Tatars and the contemporary Islamic movement. He was one of the founders of the Union of Muslims in the Russian Empire in 1907. He invented a new method of mother tongue teaching. He founded a school opened in Bakhchisaray in 1884, and by 1914 more than 5000 schools had adopted his method. He believed in women's better education as a way to modern Islamic society. He initiated a number of journals, such as *Alem-i Nisvan* (World of Women), *Alem-i Subyan* (World of Children) and *Ha Ha Ha*. He believed that the solidarity of the Turkic peoples was expressed in the principle „Unity of Language, thought and action".

speak the language is considered as loss of ethnicity.[24] Most interlocutors consider themselves for "good Muslims" – i.e. they observe the Islamic religious holidays as Kurban and Ramazan Bayrams. Although the community' food is restricted by religious norms, it is thought as one of the key ethnic characteristics. Dough and minced meat have important place in the preparation of various dishes in Tatar cuisine. Various types of Burek (kind of pastry) – Shu burek, Tatar burek, Ermishik burek, etc. are typical Tatar food, as well as the soups – Ekmek shorbasa, Kashak burek shorbasa, *etc*. Most of those foods are prepared for family, calendar and religious holidays. The ritual system of birth, wedding and funeral customs of Crimean Tatars has become less abundant in traditional beliefs and practices perceived by the community as characteristic of their culture and distinctive from the remaining society. Calendar holidays (Nawrez, Tepresh, Kurban and Ramazan Bayram, etc.) are perceived as the principal symbols of Crimean Tatar ethnicity, maintaining the community unity[25]. Although some holidays are Islamic, they are largely perceived as characteristic of Crimean Tatar ethnic culture[26].

Historical memory and ethnic markers of *Tatarlık* are important elements of Crimean Tatar ethnicity and identity, which determine the community development and distinguish them from the surrounding population. Parts of the ethnic markers are changing under the political and social external and internal factors.

Turkish assimilation, socio-political activity and identity changes

Whereas the notion of the Crimea as historical homeland is very strong group marker, the majority of members of the community in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha regard Turkey as their *spiritual* homeland. For the interlocutors, Turkey is the closest Muslim country *open* to the Muslims from neighbouring countries, which they have the historical right to live in and which they receive political support from.

The use of the ethnonym "Turco-Tatars" as an official name of the Crimean Tatar community in Romania was explained by interlocutors as an attitude of "political correctness" towards Turkey which financially supports the Muslims' cultural, educational and religious activities in Northern Dobrudzha. The question of the Turco-Tatar identity of Crimean Tatars (for the local political activists) is

[24] The following proverbs are wide spread in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha: *Tatar Tatarğa Tatarca aytmasa, tatarlak aram* [Being Tatar is a sin, if two Tatars do not talk in the Tatar language], and *Ana tilini bilmegenge, sütü aram* [(Mother's) Milk is a sin, if you donot speak your mother's tongue] (Mikhailova-Mruvkarova 1999: 450, 454; Boev 2000: 253).

[25] Antonov 2004; Erolova 2008: 449–467.

[26] For example, so-called *Tepresh* (in sense of gathering, picnic) and *Tatar Qures* (Tatar wrestling) are specific spring and summer holiday gatherings. In Southern Dobrudzha, Tepresh is marked by festive program with dances and songs on the first or last weekend of May or on the first Fiday after *Qıdırlez*. In Northern Dobrudzha, wrestlings are organized in settlements with Crimean Tatar population on the first weekend of May or on 1st May until 1st September.

debatable within the community, because it can lead to the increasing of Turkish influence over the Crimean Tatars' culture and adoption of Turkish identity. The influence of Turkey has spread out through financial support for education and religion, courses on Turkish language in schools as an optional subject (in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha), Turkish TV channels, and finally - cultural contacts and intermarriages with the surrounding Turkish population.

Some of the Crimean Tatars in Southern and Northern Dobrudzha prefer to identify themselves as Turks, i.e. as having another, foreign ethnic identity, and regard Turkey as their homeland. Most often this is due to the attitude of the surrounding population identify them as Turks, the common policy towards them in Romania and Bulgaria in some periods in the past, the desire to be part of a larger minority community, and the intermarriages between Crimean Tatars and Turks. The assimilation of Crimean Tatars by Turkish ethnic community in Dobrudzha in general is slow but permanent process that has been underway for centuries. Most of the community members are trilingual, they speak Tatar and Turkish, and Bulgarian /Romanian languages. Those who have preferred Turkish identity are easily assimilated into a Turkish ethnic environment because of the common Islamic religious identity and the similarity between the Turkish language and the dialect of the Crimean Tatar language they speak. They accept (or imagine) even the idea of Turkey as their kin-state or state of their mother nation ("anayurda") as well as the notions of the Turks about the specific cultural traits and stereotypes of other ethnic communities (including of the Crimean Tatars), which are designed to demonstrate that the Turks are superior as an ethnos and culture to the others. The fact that part of the Crimean Tatars in Southern Dobrudzha prefer to identify themselves as Turks is leading to an ethno-cultural change in their community – more specifically, to the spread of *Turkish* and loss of *Crimean Tatar* cultural elements, such as a change in the language from Crimean Tatar towards Turkish or the use of the Turkish, not the Crimean Tatar, national flag[27].

After 1990 the Crimean Tatars from Dobrudzha, as well as the other members of the Crimean Tatar worldwide diaspora were allowed to return to their Crimean homeland, in Ukraine, but this idea has remained unpopular. There were individual cases of "return" that have been viewed positively by the community but interlocutors as a whole consider Romania or Bulgaria as their present homelands where they belong and prefer to live in.

To summarize, the Crimean Tatars have construct multidimensional identity based on their sense of ethno (national) belonging around contradictory or mutually complementary concepts of two *centers* – Crimea and Turkey, which can be determined as their "dilemmas". Other aspects of their self-identification are situational and they are related to their self-consciousness for a regional (Dobrudzha), civil (Bulgarian or Romanian) and European belonging. Their political participation

[27] Erolova 2011: 213–230.

and activity as Crimean Tatars or Turks determine the trends of community development parallel to their integration in Bulgarian or Romanian host-society.

ROMA/GYPSIES

Most of Roma/Gypsies settled in Dobrudzha during the Ottoman conquest on the Balkans from the end of 14th c. to 19th c. There were active migrations to the region during the periods of the Treaty of Berlin (1878); the Balkan Wars (1912–1913); the period between First and Second World Wars (1919–1940)[28].

The Roma/Gypsies were object of purposive politics of Bulgaria and Romania in the period of socialism (1944–1989). State measures of sedentarisation and urbanization, for improving living conditions, labour occupation, as well as increasing the level of protection of health and education were conducted in both countries[29]. Socialist policies led to change of their professional characteristics, and some of them abandoned their traditional occupations and orientated to employment in the agricultural sector[30]. Specific line of the politics towards Muslim communities in Bulgaria was the so-called renaming processes (change of the personal Turkish-Arabian names with Bulgarian ones). They affected the Muslim Roma/Gypsies in the 50ties, 60ties and 80ties of 20th c.[31]

In the early 21st c. the Roma/Gypsies are one of the most numerous and heterogeneous ethnic communities in Bulgaria and Romania with their own specifics through which distinguish themselves from the majority of the society and other ethnic groups. They differ than the other ethnic communities by their ethnic structure and composition as they are united more or less in bounded groups, divisions and subdivisions, which can be studied as separate community. Unlike the other diasporas, the Roma/Gypsies do not keep memories about India as their homeland, because their resettlement to the Balkan lands was a long process dated back before 10th c.[32] Indeed, they formed as a specific community within the Byzantium and Ottoman empires on the base of policies and the attitude of surrounding population towards them. The long-term establishment of Roma/Gypsies in the Balkan states led to their re-thinking as homelands.

In the beginning of 21st c. the Roma/Gypsy presence in Dobrudzha has remained durable and almost in every settlement there are representatives of different communities/groups. In Northern Dobrudzha we can distinguish groups of the so-called Turkish or Muslim Gypsies, Tatar Gypsies, "Ţigani de mătase" (or *ţigani românizaţi*), Ursars, Kelderar Gypsies, Rudars. In Southern Dobrudzha, we can distinguish the groups of the so-called Turkish Gypsies, Tatar Gypsies,

[28] Marushiakova and Popov 2000; 2004: 9–23.
[29] Crowe 1996: 137–149; Marushiakova and Popov 2007.
[30] Achim 2004: 190–201.
[31] Büchsenschütz 2000: 36–64.
[32] Marushiakova and Popov 2000: 12–16.

Bulgarian Gypsies, Kalderash Gypsies and Rudars. I will pay attention on these Roma/Gypsy groups, presented in both parts of Dobrudzha – Muslim Gypsies (Turkish and Tatar), Kelderari/Kalderash Gypsies and Rudars. Often the ethnonym "Roma" is not accepted by the studied communities and the name "Gypsies" is preferable by its members. On the other hand, they distinguish by self-consciousness for group belonging, mother tongue and dialect, religious belonging (Protestant and Orthodox Christians, or Muslims), labour occupation (cultivators, comb-makers, coppersmiths, blacksmiths and others), cultural specifics and so on[33].

Muslim, Turkish Roma/Gypsies

The representatives of Muslim Roma/Gypsies in Romania have settled mainly in the area of Northern Dobrudzha, while in Bulgaria, they are one of the largest Roma/Gypsy communities in the country, and they have vast presence in Southern Dobrudzha. They are one of the most visible and bright part in the ethnic picture of studied region, but the public and scientific knowledge about them still is insufficient. The number of Muslim/Turkish Roma/Gypsies in Dobrudzha, as well as in Bulgaria and Romania, can hardly be determined because of the large number of community members with preferred Turkish identity in general and at the time of the official population census. In my point of view, as a result of my observations in recent years and collected unofficial data, their number is about 45–55 000 people, approximately 30–35 000 live in the Southern part and approximately 15–20 000 in Northern part of the region. The Muslim Roma/Gypsies with Gypsy self-consciousness identify themselves as "Gypsies" (Southern and Northern Dobrudzha), "Turkish Gypsies" (Southern Dobrudzha) or "Xoroxane Roma" (Southern Dobrudzha), "Hadari" (Northern Dobrudzha)[34]. They live primarily in the Tulcea district (where the number of Muslims as a whole is not high) and in Dobrich district[35]. The Muslim Roma/Gypsies in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha speak a common language/dialect, which is understood by the

[33] Erolova 2010: 333–358.

[34] Oprişan/Grigore 2001: 32.

[35] The Turkish Roma/Gypsies with Gypsy identity inhabit the following towns and villages in Silistra district: Silistra, Tutrakan, Glavinitza, Kaynardzha, Dulovo, Bogdantzi, Zamfirovo, Stefan Karadzha, Nova Cherna, Prohlada, Sekulovo, Mezhden, Chernik, Pravda, Okorsh, Vokil, Poroyno, Boil, Zlatoklas, Cherkovna, Golesh, Zarnik, Sredishte, Bosna, Luben, etc.; in Dobrich district: Dobrich, Kavarna, Balchik, General Toshevo, Altzek, Bozhurovo, Draganovo, Kamen, Stozher, Pchelino, Tyanovo, Karapelit, Tzarevetz, Vodnyantzi, Tervel, Zhitnitza, Rosenovo, Hitovo, Cherna, Dryanovetz, Ovcharovo, Sliventzi, Paskalevo, Branishte, Kableshkovo, Slaveevo, Krushari, Zagortzi, Lozenetz, Telerig, Septemvri, Belgun, Orlyak, Pop Gruevo, Obrochishte, Vassilevo, Bezhanovo, etc. In Northern Dobrudzha, they inhabit the following towns and villages in Constanţa district: Constanţa, Navodari, Mangalia, Medgidia, Ovidiu, Mangalia, Băneasa, Cernavodă, Eforie, Hârşova, Murfatlar, Techirghiol, Negru Vodă, 23 August, Adamclisi, Castelu, Cerkezu, Chirnoceni, Ciobanu, Ciocârlia, Cobadin, Cogealac, Dobromir, Valu lui Traian, Mihail Kogălniceanu, etc.; in Tulcea district: Tulcea, Babadag, Baia, C.A. Rosetti, Casimcea, Ceamurlia de Jos, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Isaccea, etc.

members of the community on both sides of the region, which contributes to the unity of their community especially in a situation of migration to Poland and Germany (from Southern Dobrudzha), and Italy and Spain (from Northern Dobrudzha).

The Roma/Gypsies with preferred Turkish self-consciousness identify themselves as "Turks" (Southern and Northern Dobrudzha) or "millet" (Southern Dobrudzha). They are concentrated mainly in Constanța and Silistra, which is due to the larger communities of Turks, to whom they are trying to integrate[36]. The Gypsies with Turkish identity consider themselves as part of the Turkish ethnic community and they recognize membership in their group only if the individual was born within the Turkish ethnic community. They strongly distinguish from the other Roma/Gypsy groups by maintaining Turkish identity. Some of the Turkish Roma/Gypsies distinct from the previous two groups by identifying themselves as "Usta millet" or "Turks by Usta Millet". They live mostly in Southern Dobrudzha. They believe that their origin is related with the prophet David (Daud), "who was blacksmith".

Also there is a small group Roma/Gypsies who identify as *Tatars*[37] (Southern and Northern Dobrudzha). They settled in the region of Dobrudzha during the Ottoman period and are included conditionally in the large community of the Turkish Gypsies. Tatar Roma/Gypsies are famous under the name "davuldzhii"[38] which probably comes from their traditional occupation – drummership. They live in Balchik (Southern Dobrudzha) and in Mangalia, Medgidia (Northern Dobrudzha) where they often identify themselves as "Turco-Tatars" under the influence of the political activity of the Crimean Tatars in Romania. The Tatar Roma/Gypsies are Muslims, a fact which unites them with the other Muslim Roma/Gypsies. At the same time they speak not only Turkish, but also Crimean Tatar language, which is a strong marker of ethnic distinction. There is a desire for marriage endogamy within the group (including within the Crimean Tatar community). An interesting example in this respect is the marriage between a Tatar Roma girl and a Turkish Roma boy. In the beginning when the girl's father found that she has relations with Rom/Gypsy, though he is a Muslim, he punished her as he cut her long hair. But

[36] The Turkish Roma/Gypsies with Turkish identity inhabit the following towns and villages in Silistra district: Silistra, Professor Ishirkovo, Bosna, Alfatar, Alekovo, Bistra, Kaynardzha, Davidovo, Zarnik, Dulovo, Oven, Prohlada, Tutrakan, Brenitza, Nova Cherna, Tarnovtzi, Glavinitsa, Bogdantzi, Zamfirovo, Zvenimir, Dichevo, Kolarovo, Kosara, Stefan Karadzha, Chernogor; in Dobrich district: Dobrich, Balchik, Kavarna, General Toshevo, Altsek, Sliventzi, Zhitnitza, Krushari, Severtzi; Tervel, Tervel, Orlyak, Lyulyakovo, Petleshkovo, Prisad, Spasovo, Lyahovo, Sokolovo, Belgun, etc. In Northern Dobrudzha, Constanța district: Constanța Medgidia, Mangalia, Eforie, Năvodari, Murfatlar, Tuzla, Albeşti, Amzacea, Bărăganu, Castelu, Chirnogeni, Ciobanu, Ciocârlia, Cobadin, Kogealac, Comana, Corbu, Cumpăna, Deleni, Dobromir, Mihai Viteazu, Topraisar, Topalu, Valu lui Traian, etc.; in Tulcea district: Tulcea, Babadag, Isaccea, etc.

[37] Balchik (Southern Dobrudzha), Medgidia and Mangalia (Northern Dobrudzha).

[38] The name *davuldzhii* is the name of one of the Gypsy groups living in the Crimea, part of the so-called Daifa/Taifa Gypsy community (Marushiakova and Popov 2004a: 145–191).

most cases of mixed marriages indicate that this aspiration to endogamy is more a reflection of the ideal picture of the marriage as the Tatar Roma/Gypsies' community today is in a process of assimilation by the Turkish Gypsies mostly through intermarriages.

Roma/Gypsies in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha with a Turkish or Tatar preferred identity feel part of the Turkish/Tatar community, and they perceive the ethnic stereotypes against the Gypsies and try to avoid contacts with them.

Kalderashi/Kelderari (Northern and Southern Dobrudzha)

Their settlement in Dobrudzha is a process that dated back to the 30^{s} of 20th c. After the 60s it was activated as result of the state sedentarisation politics of Bulgaria and Romania towards the non-settled Roma population. The members of the Kalderash community are called by the other Roma/Gypsy groups, living in Northern and Southern Dobrudzha, as *chergari, nomadi* (nomads) – names with implicated negative connotation. On the other hand, the Kalderashi/Kelderar Roma distance themselves from other Roma groups. In Southern Dobrudzha, as well as in other Bulgarian parts, interlocutors from the studied community call them with pejorative name *tsutsumani*.

Kalderashi/Kelderar Roma/Gypsies do not form a homogeneous community. They are united in subgroup and kin divisions. In Northern Dobrudzha, we can distinguish the subgroups of the so-called Pletoshi (Kalaydzii) and so-called Chori (Grebenari, Pieptenari)[39], in Southern Dobrudzha – the subgroups of Militari, Tasmanari and Zhaplesh[40]. Presence of a common internal self-government, common labour activities, endogamy marriages and Orthodox religious belonging unite the subgroups and their community as a whole. The so-called "Gypsy court" ("Žudikate/Meshere") solves only internal problems within the community, connected with family or economic conflicts ("when there is problem in the family"). It has strong authority among the members of the studied community and is a very important institution for the preservation of their traditional ethnic norms and rules of behaviour. Its main function is to get consensus between the two conflicting sides. Thus, the internal solidarity and unity of the community are restored[41].

The Kalderash/Kelderar's economic activities have changed from their past until nowadays, but the memory of their traditional occupations has been kept as their distinguishing sign. Under the influence of ethnocultural specifics of community, of industrialization and of surrounding environment the old activities

[39] They inhabit the following settlements in Northern Dobrudzha: Constanţa, Palazu Mare, Tulcea, Murfatlar, Năvodari, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Ovidiu, Valu lui Traian, Cuza Vodă etc.

[40] Kalderash Gypsies live in the following settlements in Southern Dobrudzha: Silistra, Babuk, Kalipetrovo (Silistra district), and Karapelit, Donchevo, Shabla (Dobrich district).

[41] Marushiakova and Popov 2007a: 67–101.

are preserved and new economy initiatives appear as asphalt-paving, gutter making, building, alcohol production and trade, trade with golden jewels during the so-called "Transition period" in 90s until present. The economic activity of women is diverse in the different subgroups of Kalderash/Kelderar community. In some clans the fortune-telling and pocket-picking is transmitted from one generation to another, in other ones –women are beggars or housewives, or they help to their husband' occupation. Although the fortune-telling and begging are forbidden during the socialistic period, they were practiced in limited territorial range. One of the forms of realization of these occupations is the female migration to the big urban centres. Since 1989 this migration tendency has been expanded to travelling abroad as well (Greece, Spain, Italy, Nederland, Germany and Belgium and other countries). Thus, if we considered the Roma in Bulgaria and Romania for a "deterritorialized" diaspora in terms of Robin Cohen[42], their migrations abroad as European citizens determine them as a mobile part of the society.

Members of the Kalderash/Kelderar community maintain group moral values and prohibitions considered for unique, which determine them as superior in comparison with other Roma/Gypsies and non-Gypsies ("gazhe"). Their community' separateness is maintained by marriage endogamy, non-interference in the life of the other Roma/Gypsy groups, a limiting the social contacts with them, stereotypical attitudes towards the *Others*. In both parts of Dobrudzha, Kalderash/Kelderar Roma/Gypsies form specific (sub)group ethnic identity, which reflect the constantly ongoing processes of segmentation and consolidation in their community.

Rudars (Lingurari)

Rudars migrated to Dobrudzha region since the end of 19th c. along to the so-called "Kelderar invasion". Their settlement in Southern Dobrudzha continued before and during the interwar period (1919–1940), when the whole region was part of the Romanian state[43]. In Northern Dobrudzha, they settled during 60s of the 20th c.[44]

Nowadays their community in Dobrudzha is not numerous in comparison with other Roma/Gypsy groups. They declare Vlach (Southern Dobrudzha), Romanian (Northern Dobrudzha) and rarely Roma/Gypsy identity. The specific is that they speak old Romanian dialect as a mother tongue, which in certain cases is a marker for their Romanian or Vlach ethnic self-identification. During the

[42] 2008: 18.

[43] McFie 2007: 18–31; Marushiakova and Popov 1993: 141. In Southern Dobrudzha, they inhabit compactly Kozyak, Bezmer, Mezhden, Chernogor (Silistra district), and Obrochishte, Stozher, Batovo, Odartzi, Draganovo and Shabla (Dobrich district).

[44] In Northern Dobrudzha, Rudars inhabit Cuza Vodă, Mircea Vodă and Satu Nou (Constanța district), Valea Teilor, Nalbant, Ceamurlia de Jos, Ciucurova, Beidaud, Rahmanu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Niculițel, Hamcearca (Tulcea).

Population Census in 2001, 457 individuals in Silistra district and 77 individuals in Dobrich district declared as "Vlachs" in (not Romanians) (Total number of population declared as "Vlachs" is 10 566 and as "Romanians" – 1 088)[45]. Although in Romania the Rudars consider themselves for "similar to Romanians", they indicate cultural and language differences. Members of the community try to maintain social contacts mainly within the community as they try to distinct from the other Roma/Gypsy groups, although the surrounding population considers them for Roma/Gypsies. Rudars as a whole are endogamous group, but there are cases of mixed marriages with representatives of other Roma/Gypsy groups.

In the process of self-identification, the representatives of the community stress their Christian religious belonging to Orthodoxy or last 20 years to Protestantism. Similar to other Roma/Gypsy groups in Bulgarian and Romania, significant parts of Rudars convert from Orthodoxy to Protestantism. In some settlements, as Ciucurova, the Rudar believers are majority in the (Protestant) church and they define it as "their, as Romanians have their own church".

Most often in everyday environments, Rudars prefer to self-identify on the base of their past labour specialization – as "Lingurari" (spoon makers/from Romanian word *lingura* – spoon), "(Dobrudzha) Kopanari", who produced wooden household goods and musician instruments. Although the traditional occupation is fallen, it is still shown as an ethnocultural specific by members of the group. At present they work as hired agricultural workers and as Guttersmiths[46]. The Rudars from Southern Dobrudzha prefer to migrate abroad, to Greece, Italy, Spain and other countries[47]. In terms of migration, they continue to maintain their community life and often stress civil Bulgarian identity. For example in Spain they prefer to speak in Bulgarian, because they do not want to be connected with Romanians, "who have bad name there"[48]. The Rudars from Northern Dobrudzha migrate locally from Tulcea to Constanța district and abroad, to Italy, Spain and France.

The question of ethnic identification is complicated in the different socio-political contexts. There are curious cases when Rudars try to imagine *new* origin. For example, in Northern Dobrudzha an interlocutor explained that his origin is Bulgarian, because "the name 'Rudar' came from 'Ludar' and 'Bulgar"; in Southern Dobrudzha, an interlocutor related Rudars' origin with the ancient Thracians. The policies for their ethnicisation as Roma/Gypsies or Romanians lead

[45] Source: Population census in Bulgaria.

[46] Rudars in Bulgaria are metagroup community that includes two main division of Ursari (bear trainers) and Lingurari. They speak common dialect of Romanian language with regional specifics, belong to Orthodox Christianity until 90s when most of them convert to Protestantism and they try to preserve the marriage endogamy. According to their regional location, Rudars receive different regional names – "tratzieni" (South Bulgaria, Thrace), "monteani" (mountain regions), "intreani" (around Yantra river, Northern Bulgaria), "dobrogeni" (Dobrudzha). In Southern Dobrudzha, Rudars commented with sense of humour that their capital is Staro Oryahovo near Varna.

[47] Slavkova 2010: 283–308.

[48] Slavkova 2008: 189–213.

to a complication of their ethnic (self)identification and their naming with different ethnonyms – Romanians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Rudars, Gypsies or Roma, depending on the situation. However they are always referred as a different community by the surrounding population.

Political context

Conditions for common Gypsy/Roma identity among the representatives of different Roma/Gypsy groups have created in terms of the democratic changes in Bulgaria and Romania. Some of visible identity markers are: the name "Roma/Gypsies" in Bulgaria and Romania (which is supported in only the public as the group name is used within the community), celebrating the 8th April of as the International Roma Day in northern Dobrudzha and as the Day of the Victims of the Holocaust in Southern Dobrudzha; usage of artistic costumes from the Roma/Gypsy folk groups, which are related to the stereotypical notions of the "Gypsy clothing". One of the most important factors for their identity (re)construction is their socio-political participation in different organizations and parties. In Southern Dobrudzha, Roma/Gypsies from different groups vote for "EuroRoma" ("Evroroma"), "Free Bulgaria" ("Svobodna Bulgaria"), "Roma" (which electorate and leaders are predominantly Roma/Gypsy) and "Movement for Rights and Freedoms". Although that Muslim Roma/Gypsies prefer to vote for the MRF (most of the *Roma* mayors of the villages Golesh, Bogdantzi, Cherkovna, etc. for the period 2003–2007 were elected from lists of MRF) the community vote is diffused and changing on each local or national election (parliament, president or local). The influence of the "Roma/Gypsy" parties began to rise, which is illustrated on local elections. Affiliation to these parties leads to "return" to Roma/Gypsy identity from preferred one. This ethnic process is enhanced by the activity of the local NGOs. For example, the Community center "Roma Road" ("Romano Drom") unites young Roma artists and regularly organizes cultural events and attends national Roma festivals.

In Northern Dobrudzha, representatives of the Roma/Gypsy community support different political organizations – "Partida Romilor", "Alianța pentru Unitatea Romilor", "Federația Etnică a Romilor din România". Turkish Roma/Gypsies with preferred ethnic identity vote for "Uniunea Democrată Turcă din România" and "Uniunea Democrată a Tătarilor Turco Musulmani din România". In the city of Constanța, "Uniunea Romilor din Constanța" was founded by local Roma/Gypsies. The party participated at thee local and parliamentary election in 1996, but as a whole it has only regional support. As a leader among *Roma/Gypsy* parties in Romania, as well as in Northern Dobrudzha was established "Partida Romilor", renamed in 2008 to "Partida Romilor pro Europa". Participation of the party in the central government led to its popularization among the Roma/Gypsies in Romania. The organization has developed a wide network in the country and has participated actively in the local elections. It unites the

representatives of various Roma/Gypsy groups (Kelderari, Ursari, Ţigani de mătase, etc.). For example, a part of the Rudar' community, also participates in the local structure of "Partida Romilor pro Europa" (for example in Tulcea and village of Cuza Vodă, Constanţa district) and begin to identify as "Roma" (similar to the Muslim Roma in Southern Dobrudzha with preferred Turkish identity, who began to identify as "Roma"). The cross-border communication between the branch of the Party in the village of Cuza Vodă and the community center "Romano Drom" in Dobrich indicates attempts for maintaining the common Roma unity excluding the ethnic and group specifics and stereotypes.

In cases where Roma/Gypsies adopt a new ethnic identity – Turkish, Tatar and Vlach (Romanian), most often they demonstrate it through the language and religion. The reasons preferable ethnic identification is due to the desire for self-defining as superior than the other Roma/Gypsies and non-Roma and increasing the social prestige.

The social and political activity of Roma/Gypsies reflects on their ethnic identity in different ways. The trends of ethnic/group self-identification vary between different Roma/Gypsy settlements and depend on the involvement of the studied community in the socio-political structures and activities.

OLD BELIEVERS

Russian Old Believer's diaspora community was formed as a result of the migration processes from the Russian lands caused by the reforms of Patriarch Nikon during 17th c. and the Europeanization policy of Peter I (1682–1725) at the end of 17th c. and the first quarter of 18th c. Today Old Believers are united around the common historical memory for their resettlement from Russian.

Known as "starovery", "nekrasovtzi", "lipovani" or "kazatzi", they live in the USA, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Argentina, Japan, Germany, France, Russia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Armenia, Moldova, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Bulgaria, Romania and other countries[49]. Formation of Old Believers' diaspora in Dobrudzha was a result of long-term migrations during 18th, 19th and the beginning of 20th c.[50] Majority of them settled in the region of Tulcea.

During the socialist period in Bulgaria and Romania was typical that the Old Believers as religious community were not influenced by the communist ideology and politics, and especially by the propagandized atheism. Their low number and Russian ethnicity were some of the reasons they remained unaffected by any possible reprisals. Since the beginning of the communist regime in Bulgaria, many Old Believers began to migrate to USSR. Half of the population of Tataritza and

[49] Klyuchevskiy 1993; Anastasova 1998; Moldovan 2004: 253.
[50] Prigarin 2004: 32; Sizoi 2007: 23–38.

Kazashko moved to the regions of Kuban, Herson, and Odessa[51]. In Romania, a School of pedagogy with Russian language and Lyceum were founded as many Old Believers educated there. Today they represent the Lipovan intelligence. In Bulgaria, as well as in Romania, as rural people, they are employed mainly in local agricultural and fishing cooperatives, and in local industries[52].

At present, significant parts of the Old Believers live dispersed or concentrated in their own neighborhoods. According to official data their number in Romania was 36,791 people in 2002[53]. In Bulgaria they inhabit the villages of Kazashko, Varna district and Tataritza, Silistra district. According to my observations, today their number is between 700 to 800 people.

In both parts of Dobrudzha, Old Believers speak a common Russian dialect, defined as south Russian dialects or south Russian dialect from mixed-type, preserved the characteristics of the Russian language from the late 17th and early 18th c.[54] Their ethnic and cultural self-identification is determined by two factors – religion and political activity. Religious belonging is the most specific part of their culture, which characterizes the community for centuries and continues to play an important role in their everyday and festive life. On the other hand, since 1989, when political conditions in Romania and Bulgaria have changed, a new trend in self-identification of the Russians Old Believers has occurred, related to their socio-political activity.

Religious identity

Religion of the Russian Old Believers is the most important factor in their self-identification and culture. Their religious identity for centuries dominated the ethnic one, which classifies them as ethno-confessional community. Being *Old Believer* means to believe deeply in a certain religious ideas, norms and prohibitions and to observe certain behavior in everyday and festive life. Religious practices are realized in two areas – the church and the home, and they are defined by two directions – right (symbol of the good) and left (symbol of evil)[55]. The most important visible symbols are: the three-barred cross, the old icons, crossing with two fingers, deep bowing, etc. Still many of the Old Believers continue to profess the old Orthodox religion prior to Nikonov reform, and a non-observance of the established religious norms leads to exclusion from the community. Thus these norms function as boundaries, which unite or exclude the community members.

[51] Prigarin 2004: 32.

[52] Anastasova 2006: 26.

[53] Moldovan 2004: 274–275. They live mainly in Tulcea, Constanța, Năvodari, Mahmudia, Periprava, Cardon, Mila 23, 2 Mai, Vama Veche, Sarichioi, Enisala, Jurilovca, Ghindăreşti, Carcaliu, Slava Rusă and Slava Cercheză and others.

[54] Kirile 2006: 66–73; Romanska 1959: 503; Moldovan 2004: 261–262; 281.

[55] Anastasova 1998.

Кто не соблюдает и не исполняет данные требования, тот сам себя исключает из религиозной общины. Более тяжкие случаи нарушения этих ограничений, т.е. оскорбление религиозного чувства верующих, также как покушение на святые и освящённые предметы, носят название святотатство [Who do not comply and do not observe these requirements, he excludes himself from the religious community. More serious cases of violation of these restrictions, i.e. an insult the religious feelings of believers, as well as an attack on the holy and illuminated items are called sacrilege][56].

Monasteries and churches as holy place have an important role in maintaining the religious belonging and identity from the past until present. The Old Believer church was *closed* long time for non-Old Believers, but in recent years it starts to *open* for the *external* visitors and to the surrounding society.

Denominations

Old Believers in Dobrudzha belong to two major religious denominations (*soglasia*) to *popovtzi* ("with priests" in sense of people who recognize the priest), famous also as *lipovani* and *bezpopovtzi,* ("priestless", in sense of people who do not recognize the priest), famous also as *cossacs*. The main reason for the differences between the both groups is the lack of priests in religious rituals of the *bezpopovtzi* community until the end of 20th c. (the religious life was led by an old man aware with religious norms, called dyak). *Popovtzi* are part of the dioceses of the Old Ritual Orthodox Church of Belaya Krinitza in Braila, which is not recognized by the *Bezpopovtzi*. Priestess' Old Believers are organized into religious communities (in Romania: Slava Rusă, Slava Cercheză, Sarichioi, Mahmudia; Bulgaria: Kazashko)[57]. Some of them recognize the authority of the Russian Old-orthodox church called "Novozybkovo soglasie" in Russia and the term "priestess" become conditional name, because they start to recognize Novozybkovo' priests. On the other hand, not all priestess' Old Believers recognized this church hierarchy and continue to maintain the old traditional church structure without a priest, with a self-taught traditional leader in newly created houses of Worship.

In the past, if a strong distinction was typical for the members of both denominations, today we can observe their cohesion. In Southern Dobrudzha, since the mid–20th c. mixed marriages between priests and priestess' Old Believers from Tataritza and Kazashko were concluded, because the decreasing the number of the community members who were not related with kinship ties. In Northern Dobrudzha, the political activity of the Old Believers since 1990 creates conditions for consolidation between them.

Social and political activity. From religious to ethnic identity

Political participation of the Russians Old Believers in Bulgaria and Romania has different forms. In Romania, they create their own organization "Comunitatea

[56] Zorile, 1995, 1.
[57] Anastasova 1998: 30–31.

Rusilor Lipoveni în România" (CRLR) and participate in the national parliament with a representative, as well as in local authorities in Tulcea district. For example, as a result of the local elections in 2008, 10 local councilors in different settlements (Slava Cercheză, Mahmudia, Sarichioi, etc.), mayor in Slava Cercheză and deputy-mayor of Tulcea were appointed from the list of Old believers' organization. The CRLR issuing bilingual newspapers "Зори/Zorile" and "Kitej-grad", books, organizes conferences and symposiums, dedicated to the Russian language and culture, folk festivals, holidays, language courses, and support (re)construction of the Old Believers' churches. Its main purpose is to unite the community members and to develop their ethnic, cultural, language and religious identity[58]. The policy of the Old believers' organization includes „return" to Russian roots through active relations with Russia, study of literary Russian language, literature and history, preservation and promotion of Russian culture, etc. Their socio-political activity leads to enhancing of their identity and self-awareness as Russians, as modern European minority. In Bulgaria, social and political activism of the Old Believers is limited mainly on local level, but they are reflected widely in the national media, in connection with the activities, organized by the Mayor of Kazashko (on the occasion of different cultural and social events, protests against the project for construction of new terminal in the Varna Port in 2006, etc.). In public, always the Cossack origin of the Old Believers in Kazashko is emphasized by the Mayor and community members. This notion, verbalized in stories, is used also as a part of the tourist attraction, offered by the two folklore groups in the village. Thus the Cossacks' origin becomes leading in the self-identification process of the Old Believers. In Romania, the official name "Ruşi lipoveni" was imposed under the influence of the Old Believers' political activity. During Population census in 2002, CRLR published guidelines regarding ethnic belonging: „La poziția 15 trebue să declarăm etnia rus-lipovean..." [On entry 15 we must declare the Russian-Lipovan Ethnicity][59].

Parts of the Old Believers in Northern Romania do not accept the *new* official name and there was a discussion about the official name of the community last 18 years – what name is more correct: "Russians", "Russian Old believers" or "Russian Lipovans"[60]. Some interlocutors consider that the ethnonym 'Russians' is more correct, and "the name lipovani is not an ethnic name, it is a pejorative nickname". Representatives of the Old-Orthodox Church in Braila consider the name "Old Believers" is most correct[61]. On the other hand, the intellectuals of community consider the name "Russian lipovans" ("Ruskie lipovani") for an accurate one, because it means "Romanian citizens with Russian nationality and belonging to the Old Orthodox faith"[62].

[58] Moldovan 2006: 275.
[59] Kitej-grad 2002, 1.
[60] Ivanov 1996a: 1, 13.
[61] Zorile, 1994, 5.
[62] Evseev 1998: 3; Kirile 1998: 9.

The debate on the official name of the community indicates the trends in self-identification of Old Believers. The ethnic names which they identify by are an expression of their ethnic or ethno-confessional identity. These names can be used to distinguish them from surrounding society or to unite them within their community.

The impact of political factors on development of the Old Believers creates conditions for their self-definitions as modern ethnic minority in European terms with its cultural diversity and traditions. Thus, the ethno-national identity starts to dominate on religious one and the new political leaders displaced the traditional religious ones.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ethnocultural self-identification of the Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Old Believers is a process that is associated with the use of the community cultural traditions as ethnic markers of self-identification. By their preservation in everyday and festive life of the community, they create sense of continuity, collective ethnic and cultural identity. The representatives of the three diasporas perceive Bulgaria or Romania respectively as their homelands, alongside of their notions of original homelands. Since the end of the 20 c. the democratic changes in Bulgaria and Romania were related to the imposition of political systems with a different concept of ethnic minorities, which lead to ethnocultural changes of the different communities' development and identification. In both countries, the community members develop strong civil Bulgarian or Romanian identity. Crimean Tatars, Roma/Gypsies and Old Believers do not unite within their communities only around the perceptions of their homelands. They re-construct their identity through enhancing or *imagining* of their real or preferred self notions of ethnicity, as a result of state policies, socio-economic conditions and majority society' attitude. The new dimensions of identity are reflected on the debates about their official names, ethno-cultural demonstrations on public events, and in process of their socio-political activity. The participation of the discussed communities at a national and local political level in one or another way strengthen their multidimensional identity as minority (on ethnic, cultural and religious level) and as Bulgarian or Romanian European citizens.

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Introduction

Since the dramatic changes of 1989-91, both the political map of Eastern Europe and academic discourses have changed considerably. In ethnomusicology, we have seen the rise of a discourse that merits the term "postsocialist"[1] since it refers to research that was hardly possible before 1989 – neither in the East nor in the West. As with other terms involving the "post" prefix, "postsocialism" has a seemingly paradoxical quality: it refers to something that has been overcome, but which still exerts a legacy. Correspondingly, postsocialist ethnomusicology follows these two main routes: it re-evaluates the socialist past and analyzes socialism's legacy in the present. These two topics dominate Marian-Bălaşa's latest volume.

In postsocialist ethnomusicology, it has long been routine to regard both folk music and ethnomusicological research as political. Over the years, various ethnomusicologists, such as Tim Rice, have analyzed the cultural policy of the socialist and postsocialist states and the effects of these policies on different musics, exploring not only "national" traditions, which long dominated ethnomusicological research, but also musical styles which contest traditions and national identities.

Until recently, there has been little postsocialist research on Romania. Marin Marian-Bălaşa is neither the only Romanian nor the only ethnomusicologist working in this area, but with the publication of this volume (*Muzicologii, etnologii, subiectivităţi, politici* [Musicologies, Ethnologies, Subjectivities, Politics], Bucharest, Editura Muzicală, 2011) he has become perhaps the most prolific and certainly the most passionate postsocialist ethnomusicologist in the area. His new collection includes 15 essays, many of which were previously published in Romanian journals or delivered at conferences. The volume also includes two translated and revised articles originally published in English (comp. Marian-Bălaşa 2005b, Marian-Bălaşa 2005a). In fact, all the essays are revised and the revisions are often substantial, including, for instance, new sections where Marian-Bălaşa summarizes the controversies caused by the initial publications, expanding and clarifying his argument.

In spite of the volume's title, suggesting an eclectic choice of topics, this volume stands out by its cohesiveness: the essays are closely related and

[1] My definition of "postsocialism" is loosely based on the discussions of the term in Hann, Humphrey, and Verdery 2002.

complement each other to a degree that is rarely seen today. It is organized in three parts. The first is concerned with the history of Romanian ethnomusicology[2]. The second part combines essays drawing on visual anthropology which re-interpret historical photographs and ethnographic films from archive collections. The last part explores mostly post-1989 developments in Romanian popular music, focusing on *manea*, a recent Romanian version of a Balkan-wide musical phenomenon known for its oriental associations, and the pop music of the charts.

Part I

The book's first part, entitled "Folklore: Why it has to be (re-)collected", contains six essays which discuss different aspects in the history of Romanian ethnomusicology. Marian-Bălaşa's focus is on the 20th century – although occasionally he looks back to the 19th century – and he covers especially those topics left out or underrepresented in the works of others writing on the history of folkloristics and ethnomusicology in Romania, such as a fascist influence on ethnomusicology during the 1930s and 1940s and the more recent decades of the socialist era.

The six essays have one common topic: the construction of Romanian identity in ethnomusicological discourse. Marian-Bălaşa shows how the well-known focus on Romanian peasants emerged during the nation-building process of the 19th century, turning into an ethnic and eventually racist concept in the 1930s. Moreover, Marian-Bălaşa analyzes minority politics as they played out inside ethnomusicology, which often meant the exclusion of "others" and their folk music from discourse. Focusing particularly on Romanian Jews, Marian-Bălaşa attempts to analyze anti-Semitism inside of Romanian ethnomusicology, especially in the 1930s and 1940s but also in later decades.

Overall, Marian-Bălaşa is trying to move away from purely academic intellectual historiography focused on the knowledge produced inside the ivory tower towards one that integrates the wider social and political context.

The first essay, entitled "System and coincidence in ethnomusicological anthologies and monographs,"[3] surveys Romanian ethnomusicology from the 19th century to the present day. Marian-Bălaşa suggests a typology for Romanian folk music collections that distinguishes between what he calls "romantic amateurism", works written by amateurs for sentimental reasons (such as glorifying the Romanian nation); "academic professionalism", works written by professional folklorists or ethnomusicologists using a technical apparatus of up-to-date transcription techniques; and "political academism" (*academismul partinic*), a

[2] Today, the term "ethnomusicology" is widely used in Romania, while in the past other terms such as "musical folklore" were the preferred label. For simplicity's sake I speak here consistently of "Romanian ethnomusicology", referring to one academic discipline and its discourse.

[3] *Sistematic şi aleator în antologiile şi monografiile etnomuzicale*.

hybrid of the other two paradigms where professionals employ technical means, but deviate strongly from the objective stance of the second paradigm.[4]

In contrast to other historians of Romanian folkloristics and ethnomusicology, Marin-Bălaşa emphasizes simultaneity instead of sequence. Where others describe a series of steps towards more objectivity from methodologically-flawed Romantic collections to increasingly more refined scientific paradigms, Marian-Bălaşa emphasizes that amateurs still publish folk music collections based on Romantic ideals, even if these publications do not find wide academic recognition. Likewise, Marian-Bălaşa continues to find collections which he classifies as political academism, suggesting they are more concerned with validating a specific political agenda than with describing a musical reality.

Marian-Bălaşa also shows continuities in the negotiation of Romanian identity within ethnomusicological discourse. The ongoing reluctance to seriously include urban folklore here is only one indicator that the old national model of defining Romanian folk music is still alive. Marian-Bălaşa's perspective here is approximately compatible with Verdery's earlier work (1991) on the link between Romanian intellectual discourse and nationalism, only that Marian-Bălaşa fills in information on folkloristics and ethnomusicology, areas hardly touched by Verdery.

While this first essay in this volume is at its best when discussing the 20th century, the second essay, entitled "Dictionaries and encyclopedias: From the history files of ethnomusicology,"[5] provides more detailed information on the 19th century. This essay also discusses a textual genre, evaluating articles of interest to present-day ethnomusicologists in several historical encyclopedias by authors such as Teodor T. Burada, Titus Cerne, Timotei Popvici and A.V. Ivela. This including some publications which are less well-known for their ethnomusicological content.

What at first glance may be surprising is that Marian-Bălaşa also discusses recent (post-1989) encyclopedias by Viorel Cosma and Iordan Datcu. Moreover, while the earlier publications were discussed as historical sources, his treatment of the more recent publications is comparatively superficial. In spite of this stylistic peculiarity, Marian-Bălaşa provides a valuable commentary, apparently believing – as does this reviewer – that sources from the socialist period merit the same kind of critical evaluation as older works. As Marian-Bălaşa demonstrates here, this applies even to works like those of V. Cosma and I. Datcu, which are based on research carried out in the socialist period and published well after the end of Ceauşescu's regime. Needless to say, Marian-Bălaşa's-source criticism does not lead to discarding these works as sources altogether, but rather to suggestions for how to read these works. In Cosma's work, for example, Marian-Bălaşa sees a recent example of "political academism" (p.70) since it continues many academic traditions from the socialist era.

[4] See Marian-Bălaşa 2007 for an English publication where Marian-Bălaşa uses the same three-partite typology.

[5] *Dicţionare şi lexicoane (file din istoria etnomuzicologiei).*

The fourth essay, "Academic ultranationalism and racism: Elements of a case study of journalistic polemics"[6], expands on the construction of Romanian identity in ethnomusicological discourse. Marian-Bălaşa looks here at how political ideologies from the far right might be reflected in ethnomusicological discourse in the 1930s and 1940s.

Instead of the usual analysis of the period's most famous ethnomusicological studies, which include most of Brăiloiu's publications, Marian-Bălaşa opts here for the discussion of rather obscure authors, such as Dimitrie Cuclin or Mihai Vulpescu, both associated with the political extreme right in their time. To focus on what almost amounts to forgotten personalities today – at least for historians of musicology, ethnomusicology and folkloristics – will not lead to a representative picture of Romanian music research. But this choice of source material is well-suited for answering a more specific question: What are the characteristics of an ethnomusicological approach associated with the political extreme right?

In Cuclin's and Vulpescu's writings of the 1930s and 1940s, Marian-Bălaşa finds a concentration on the Romanian peasant – no longer understood as a fluid category, as in the 19th century, but instead in narrow racial terms. This reading coincides with a similarly narrow interpretation of Romanian Orthodoxy. Marian-Bălaşa shows that folklorists on the extreme right condemned most other ethnic or religious groups and their folklore. Comparing different versions of a puppet theater play edited by Vulpescu, Marian-Bălaşa shows that Vulpescu sometimes emphasized anti-Semitic interpretations; he also argued to eliminate folklore reminiscent of Catholicism (p.92).

Marian-Bălaşa does not stop in the 1940s; he also looks for continuities in later decades. He points, for example, to the revival of ultranationalism in the 1970s and 1980s, suggesting that when the Ceauşescu regime turned even more nationalistic, some Romanian ethnomusicologists revived ideas from the 1930s and 1940s, including the narrow interpretation of what "Romanian" meant. Marian-Bălaşa also sees similar processes at play after 1990, when ethnomusicology and ultranationalism overlap in the case of the well-known folk musician Gheorghe Zamfir endorsing Romania Mare (Greater Romania), a party on the extreme right.

The fifth essay, arguably the most profound historical analysis in this volume, was originally published as the afterword in one of Adrian Vicol's recent publications. Revealing that Adrian Vicol is a pseudonym for Iosif Weisz, Marian-Bălaşa seizes the opportunity to analyze how a Romanian Jewish was able to carve out a career for himself in socialist ethnomusicology.

It would have been easy for Marian-Bălaşa to read Vicol's work purely from this angle to show Vicol as a victim of his time. But instead, Marian-Bălaşa suggests a different, more complex reading. He shows that Vicol internalized Romanian ethnomusicology to an extent where he forgot or ignored his Jewish

[6] *Ultranaţionalism şi rasism academic (elementele unor studii de caz şi ale unor polemici de ziar).*

identity, adopting the hegemonic paradigm of socialist ethnomusicology, even those aspects which potentially worked against him as a member of a minority. As an example, Marian-Bălaşa points to the dogma of homogeneity in Romanian folklore ("cadru unitar", p.126). Instead of rebelling, Vicol chooses a different area on which to focus, pushing forward the boundaries of musical analysis and thereby continuing Brăiloiu's heritage. While it is likely that this form of compromise was the only way for Weisz/Vicol to circumvent censorship and to publish, Marian-Bălaşa does not, however, fully consider this possibility.

Overall, the six essays in the first part of this volume show that Marian-Bălaşa is one of the few scholars today who seriously study the history of ethnomusicology. More importantly, Marian-Bălaşa works on a project that is largely neglected by other historians of ethnomusicology: a serious and in-depth integration of the histories of folk music research and ethnomusicology, two discourses which – in spite of frequent claims to the contrary – still often remain separate.

Part II

The volume's second part, entitled "Visual anthropology and graphic representation"[7], comprises four essays which are united by a common concern. Three of them interpret historical films and photographs from archive collections. The fourth is concerned with a different kind of representation: musical transcriptions made by ethnomusicologists, adding to the ongoing discussion of the topic.

Although Marian-Bălaşa uses historical documents as the center of most essays in this part, his focus is not primarily historical. Instead he raises methodological issues, suggesting, for example, new ways of reading them. He also examines the ethnographic encounter as a crucial moment during fieldwork, discussing examples from the past and the present. His work in this respect is vaguely reminiscent of Barz and Cooley 2008 and some of his arguments are well-known, such the limits of the phonograph's objectivity. And yet Marian-Bălaşa's argument is also novel, since it is aimed specifically at examples from Romanian ethnomusicology, with its history of fieldtrips that is quite distinct from the ethnographic work that follows B. Malinowski's model. Also, Marian-Bălaşa's main objective is ultimately not to question or improve methods, but to recover a dimension lost in folk music research: that of the individual. Consequently, his 'encounters' with historical documents aim at recovering traces of the lost personal and social dimensions of ethnographic encounters, a project with considerable relevance not only for the past, but also for the present.

The first essay in the second part, titled "Que reste-t-il de nos amours? A visual narrative on the emancipation of mediating agent and intimacy of the fact of

[7] *Anthropologie vizuală şi reprezentare grafică.*

folklore,"[8] is perhaps the most ambitious essay in this volume. Marian-Bălaşa not only reflects on the nature of fieldwork in the past and the present, but also employs a methodology somewhat unusual for ethnomusicologists, borrowing from hermeneutics and phenomenology. Essentially, Marian-Bălaşa re-interprets historical films and photographs based on his own present-day experience in and outside the field. Such a procedure seems to be neither completely unknown nor yet the rule in visual anthropology, the field of study to which Marian-Bălaşa explicitly and repeatedly refers.

More specifically, Marian-Bălaşa posits that there is a "parallel between the emancipation of ethnologic research as a mediating agent and the obfuscation of what can only be called intimacy of the object and the ethnological act"[9]. In other words, he wants to counter the impersonal and objectivist approach that first dominated nationalist folkloristics in the 19th century, then the early 20th century positivist school, and later the socialist research, and instead to re-instate a personal and psychological dimension, as outlined in his earlier works (e.g. Marian-Bălaşa 1994).

In search of traces of the individual, he turns to visual documents, such as a series of photos taking during the well-known 1929 fieldtrip to Drăguş organized under the tutelage of D. Gusti. A number of important Romanian researchers took part in this field trip, among them Constantin Brăiloiu and Harry Brauner, and Marian-Bălaşa selects photos that show these two ethnomusicologists interacting with villagers and the phonograph. Drawing on interviews with surviving eyewitnesses of the 1929 fieldtrip and their descendants, Marian-Bălaşa suggests that a give-and-take took place where the villagers provided information about their culture and were in return elevated by becoming objects of study, a symbolic capital that, as other examples illustrate, can potentially be turned into economic capital. To illustrate the potential academic reward, Marian-Bălaşa refers here to a specific group of *căluşari* dancers which on Brăiloiu's recommendation went on tour to London in the 1930s.

Details in the photographs that at first glance seemed irrelevant, such as field notes piled up in impressive heaps, become meaningful in this context. The notes, together with massive amounts of phonograph recordings, visually underline the commitment and investment the scholars made in this specific rural community and by extension in peasant culture in general.

In a different example, Marian-Bălaşa draws on his present-day experience, where he accompanied a foreign musicologist in the field. He describes how the musicologist suggested organizing foreign tours for the village musicians, a

[8] *"Que reste-t-il de nos amours?" O narațiune vizuală despre emanciparea agentului mediator și intimitatea faptului de folclor*.

[9] "Tema majoră este aceea a paralelei dintre emanciparea cercetării etnologice, ca agent mediator, şi obnubilarea a ceea ce se poate numi *intimitatea obiectului și actului etnologic*" (emphasis in the original, p. 137).

promise that was not kept, but which motivated the villagers to perform extensively for the musicologist. As if to remind the reader - and possibly himself - of the moral dimension involved here, Marian-Bălaşa suggests metaphors of disappointed love and of broken engagements – hence the reference to the French chanson in essay's title. Ironically, perhaps, Marian-Bălaşa's point is driven home by the fact that in his anecdote the villagers advertised themselves to the foreign musicologist by playing wedding music.

Part III

The final part of this volume, titled "The Politics of the Folk Arts: From Pop Music to the Manea"[10], comprises five essays. Two deal with *manea* (singular, plural manele), two focus on pop music, understood here for the most part as the music of the charts. Chronologically, this part focusses on musical developments since 1989.

The first essay in this part is mainly a survey of popular music in Romania since the end of the 18th century. The attempt to outline a large segment of musical production over a long period of time necessarily results in a relatively superficial perspective. Nevertheless, Marian-Bălaşa also includes important turning-points, such as the diminished influence of light music (musică uşoară) since the end of the Ceauşescu era.

The second chronicles developments since 1989 in greater detail. Of greatest interest to me is Marian-Bălaşa's account of the music that accompanied demonstrations near Bucharest's university during and after the so-called revolution of 1989. He also discusses other political and musical events and pop, rock and hiphop groups such as Sarmalele Reci, Taxi and Paraziţii. His analysis often concentrates on lyrics and rarely ventures into musical territory.

A seven-page short essay on *manea* again provides overview, briefly tracing the genre back to the days of Anton Pann. Marian-Bălaşa also attempts to reverse the scholarly disdain present in much scholarship on *manele*, instead suggesting a "celebration" of the genre (p.300). He asks what this genre has to offer and what has allowed its sustained success since 1990. Exploring sonic qualities, he also asks why it is often played loudly and why *manele* often intrude into (semi-)public space, for example when played from car stereos or in courtyards. In his answers, Marian-Bălaşa emphasizes the intensity, the energy and certainty expressed by this music. While some other times the ethnomusicologists have focused on a more objective approach (Marian-Bălaşa 2003b, Beissinger 2007, Giurchescu and Rădulescu 2011), this time Marian-Bălaşa ventures into a more subjective domain, which foregrounds the significance manele have for listeners. Although this short

[10] *Politicile artelor populare (de la pop la manea)*.

article by no means replaces a more detailed ethnography (that should be seen in Marian-Bălaşa 2003b), it adds a valuable perspective to the picture.

A second essay on manele in this volume expands on its reception in Romania in general. As Marian-Bălaşa has shown in earlier publications (Marian-Bălaşa 2003a, b), manele are highly controversial, and the public is largely divided into supporters and enemies. Occasionally, the conflict takes violent forms: Marian-Bălaşa provides examples of computer viruses that target and destroy data only on computers with manele on them, or the Far-Right's utilization of manele in their general xenophobic rhetoric. Marian-Bălaşa shows how manele in this racist context stand for something bigger than a musical genre. They not only function as a stand-in for the Roma population, they also become a symbol for an alleged lack of civilization, or supposed pollution of civilization by oriental influences. This radicalization draws on old discursive tropes in Romania, and explains why manele are such a controversial topic.

The last essay commemorates Mihai Pop, one of Romania's most influential folklorists from the 1950s to 1970s. At first glance, this essay seems misplaced in this part, which is otherwise about more recent popular music, until one remembers, or reads between Marian-Bălaşa's lines, that in many respects it was Pop who opened up the study of popular music for Romanian ethnomusicologists by insisting that they should cover all present-day musical traditions, rural or urban.

Overall, the third part may be the weakest in this volume and yet it serves an important function. It demonstrates that Marian-Bălaşa is ultimately concerned with the present: his concern with the past is only a means to an end. In this sense, he is a historian against his will, re-evaluating the past only to see the present in a different light.

In this volume, he continues the project outlined in an earlier collected volume (Marian-Bălaşa 2003b), arguing for a more humanistic ethnomusicology. In this volume he demonstrates that this new kind of ethnomusicology – one that exposes political influences instead of hiding them; that puts people in its center, not abstract musical structures; that embraces subjectivity when it serves this end – is both possible and scholarly productive.

As an ethnomusicologist from Germany, I wish there would be more ethnomusicologists like Marian-Bălaşa in my own country, working passionately for a renewal of the discipline, asking difficult, critical, and controversial questions and providing innovative, if not always complete answers. Although this book is aimed predominantly at a Romanian audience, it is a must for anyone interested in the complex relationship of Romanian ethnomusicology and politics in the 20th century. It is an important contribution to postsocialist ethnomusicology at large and is recommended for anyone who wants to consider the effects of the ethnomusicological discourse on its object.

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Maurice MENGEL

Roxana Deca: *Woman, Feminism, Feminity: Criteria for an Ethnology of Equilibrium in the Romanian Traditional Society*. Craiova: Editura Universitaria, 2012, 277 p., ISBN 978-606-14-0476-6.

The author examines topics related to the power game functional mechanisms between men and women. Half of the pages of this book are dedicated to analysis of different ethnographical aspects and the other half to folk texts, in an attempt to cover all important aspects of the women's role in the traditional society. The work has a substantial bibliography.

The first chapter presents the history of the woman's legal and social status, beginning with Roman period, passing through medieval times until modern days, studying the evolution of the tradition and written law. Some of the etymons of the words for basic notions of law, mostly of Latin origin are discussed, the author

trying to trace the origin of laws concerning the women. The attention is naturally focused on the women in the Romanian territory. Different codes of law are detailed, stressing upon the way the status of woman appeared, with regard to the relationship between husband and wife, property, children, divorce, the right to sign official documents, and so on. For example, some historical documents, such as Romanian Codes of Law from the 17th century "established the woman's inferior position and her lack of rights, her duty to obey her husband, to be faithful and to follow him" (p. 9), one of Vasile Lupu (1652), laws of Calimachi (1817) and Caragea (1818), stipulating the woman's duties and the severe punishments if she disobeyed (p. 12).

In rural families, though "The Romanian [civil] law agreed with the divorce (...) separation was rare (...) the divorce was perceived as a stigma and an insult brought to all the people in the traditional village" (p.13). Also, many historical aspects related to dowry, different stages of marriage, status of natural or adopted children, are presented. The author concludes that: "the Romanian customary and official legal system offered equal rights of inheritance to all children, regardless of sex or place in the succession of birth. Although within the Romanian traditional family the man had always have the position of leader". That last statement clearly shows the fundament of the conservative ideas about the woman's position, which made her emancipation very difficult: "We may assert that in Romania there was no proper feminist movement" (p. 45) but for some women's associations, such the important *National Council of Romania Women* that appeared late (1921). However, the very existence of Romanian women's emancipation in rural areas is debatable even nowadays.

Only few pages present the life of the woman in communism, in the context of the loss of private possession over the land and means of production, and the consequences of the Decree 770 of 1966 – prohibiting the abortion which "was nothing but a fascist policy, which for 23 years led to the death of more than 10000 women" because of "rudimentary abortions" (p. 48). Also there is no word about the *student-mother* article of law which allowed pregnant girls to attend classes in high school during her pregnancy. Perhaps the author should have discussed the profound social impact of the communist ideology, the role of that way of life in creating dependents instead of individuals, the means used by an oppressive system to crush down dignity (such as food and energy rationing, overtime work on Saturdays and Sundays). The women were the first victims.

A large chapter, *The woman's role within the traditional family: rites of passage*, is divided in several sequences. It presents some aspects of the kinship such as the connection between age, gender, position within the family and family status. In the discussion about the marriage ritual there are many ethnographical facts as well as aspects of traditional mentality, underlining the importance of marriage, including examples of Romanian proverbs. Different aspects of the

marriage stages, from the territory of Romania, are presented, sometimes compared with those from other parts of the world. Discussing this union of man and woman, the author tries to maintain a balance between the ritual and social sides, both of equal importance in the traditional rural community. Fragments of folk texts from wedding ceremony are quoted, in order to exemplify the ceremonies which are all done respecting the local communities' unwritten laws. There is a stress on the importance of the dowry, mainly the woman's. Men also are endowed, especially with land for house, and/or agricultural land.

It is almost mandatory to have children, hence the existence of many fertility rituals: "In the Romanian traditional system of beliefs human pregnancy and birth were positive principles and a symbol of regeneration, influencing all aspects of rural life. Pregnancy was associated with or was considered to have repercussions on agricultural fertility" (p. 90). There are a lot of interdictions and practices to prevent abortion or the birth of a sick child. The traditional midwife had and in some parts of Romania still has an important place, with a dual role: she "addressed to a wide range of means, some of a magic and religious motivation, others with an equivalent in scientific medicine". Some elements of the history of the god-parenthood, with an accent on the part played by the child' godmother are also analyzed, and I think some important issues could deserve to be a subject of indepth developments.

Speaking about the funerals, Roxana Deca says: "The funeral cycle is mainly under feminine authority" (p. 108). Here, the particular acts occurring around the death bed, those on the days before the funeral, with a special description of the song *To the Dawns*, on the road to the burial place, the burial itself and what happens after it, the "feasts of the dead" are presented; also, the particular situations of the death of young unmarried people and the rituals concerning the vampires are described.

The next chapter, *Women's role in performing ritual calendar* begins with a theoretical and historical presentation of the main traditional customs. There are too mentions on some important facts, including field data that occur in strong connections with certain periods of time, such as group work, old women's day and so on, when women and not only them assembled. The author describes in detail *Iordăneala* or The Bellows Monday, "practiced on St. John's Day (...) on January the 5th (...) maidens and widows took twigs of basil, which they tide with a string (...) and enchanted it (...) At Epiphany (...) women baptized the graves of stillborn or non-baptized babies" (p. 128); "The Old Women's Days (...) nine days of in early spring (...) end on the 9th of March by commemorating the 40 Christian martyrs (...) The woman is the main performer who fulfils the ritual of commemorating (...) in the family (...) prepare (...) anthropomorphic shapes of dough (...) these shapes are given to be consumed as ritual food, with red wine"

(p. 129-130); "*Lăzărița* (...) the ritual scenario is performed exclusively by girls who wander from house to house. One of the girls, named Lăzărița, dressed herself as a bride (...) during Palm Saturday uttering lyrics which combine the legendary and the religious characteristics, resembling corals (...) This custom is part of the ritual of midwifery" (p. 131-132). There are also presented many rituals of prosperity, apothropaic, performed on the Holy Week and Easter. The magical acts of *Ropotin* (of griddles) "held by means of feasts, to tame the evil spirits" (p. 141) are detailed as well as *Scaloian* (Caloian) and *Paparuda*, which – according to the author – "are the proof of the balance between the masculine and the feminine elements" (p. 145). "The connection between the two holidays is one of a gestural structure and one related to the final of the ritual gesture, namely to ensure the necessary rainfall throughout the year and avoid the abundant ones and hail" (p. 144). Some predestining rituals such as those practiced on Saint George, Midsummer Day, Saint Demetrius, Saint Andrew, on the Eve of New Year are described. Special pages discuss *Sânziene*, *Drăgaica*, which take place on Midsummer Day, "a ceremonial group manifestation, whose dominant function is related to fertility" (p. 149), underlining the dance of the fairies and the encounter between their groups.

The next chapter, *Hypostasis of feminism in forms of artistic reflection*, focuses on the analyses of folk texts, naturally stressing on heroines. It dwells on the Romanian folk balladry because the author considers it "of all the types of the popular song, it is the most representative to be analyzed in relation to the subject (...) about women and their social role related to the masculine character" (p. 156); the author focuses on the family ballad, because it "develops a theme inspired from conflicts of family life (...) Such poetic texts reveal the relationships between men and women and also on the position of each gender in the selective and creative process which gave rise to these cultural products" (p. 157). Some historic elements concerning the epic song are reviewed too.

All ballads themes are thematically dissected beginning with *The woman desired as Wife*. The accent is placed not only on the epic itself, but on the archaic matriarchal features too. *The Sun and the Moon*, different regional variants of *Iovan Iorgovan*, *Bogdan Dimian*, *Vidros* are discussed. Gruia and Novac appear in ballads as heroes seeking for a wife. They are present in ballads with the Forest Girl as wanted bride, or Magdalina, a fairy; both characters also found in other different folk texts, including legends.

The next pages concern *The girl initiated in the rituals specific to marriage*, and speaks about *Three virgin sisters*, following the steps of Sabina Ispas in the analysis done in *The Sung Sorry*. The discussion of *Ghiță Cătănuță*, belonging to the theme of *The woman who puts her suitors to love tests*, is more detailed as that of *Milea*, with the comparison to other versions from the Balkan area. The

discussion refers again to Vidros when speaking about *Old Mother*, trying to complete the picture of this feminine figure.

"The ballad *Vartici* is a song based on the Odyssean theme of the love between godmother and godson, becoming a song performed within the wedding ritual" (p. 185), says the author in *The treacherous woman* theme, and quotes Henry H. Stahl regarding this forbidden relationship. Roxana Deca prefers to discuss more on the power of cursing and of the divine punishment; yet, maybe, she should have elaborated on the incest within the god-parenthood, one of the most important of the kinship institution, in which the woman plays a star role.

There is a short historic review concerning the theme of murderess, which brings forth the girl or woman who, regardless any moral principle, kills for the sake of fulfilling her whims. Then, *The evil mother-in-law and the persecuted daughter-in-law*, a topic which could also be mentioned as appearing in many other folk productions, is represented by *Simion's Wife* (among other ballads). Connected with the previous theme also are the *Girl who is not liked by her mother in low, The girl who is killed by her mother in low*. These themes are considered part of the family topic, and again, a short mention of the general kinship context could have been usefully done.

The next pages focus on *The cursing woman*, especially on the curse of the mother, which "was accomplished, it was fulfilled and acted as implacable force of destiny of the damned one... The maternal principle, feminine and authoritative, is forceful, powerful and active" (p. 214). The example in the ballad *The Snake* reveals a bridge between the mythological figure of the snake, the pre-Christian and the one implied in the original sin, the ritual of passage represented by an archaic form of marriage, the rapt, with the mother as family key figure. Among the last themes, perhaps one of the most interesting is *The sacrificed woman*, to which the author dedicates a larger discussion, focused more on *The Master Manole*. There are details about the presence of this topic in Neo-Greek ballads, Georgian and Armenian songs, legends, and many other not mentioned here. At the end of this chapter that was dedicated mainly to the women figures in Romanian ballads, the author says: "feminine images reflected in the ballad... represent reference points for tradition and patterns meant to familiarize us with the status of the woman within the community and society" (p. 243). Maybe they do represent how the woman was and sometimes is still seen, and not in certain circumstances only, as the very texts presented in this book often show.

The *Conclusions* review the topics of this book, stating that: "We approached the woman by means of tradition, taking into account her role within the family and outside it, both socially and ritually (...) the image of the woman in the Romanian society is that of a factor of stability within the household (...) whereas the man's privilege was the public domain" (p. 245). *Annexes* which present documents of a dowry (one dated 1796, other 1856, etc) and various ethnographic facts and *References* end up the book.

In this book, the author presents some of the traditional functioning of women in the Romanian rural society, based upon historical data, ethnographical facts and folk texts, and especially on an extensive bibliography. The result is a picture which could explain many of the problems of Romanian contemporary woman's daily life. Perhaps it would have been advisable to define or at least to mention what *traditional* in the title means, such as what are the time or historic limits. Usually this type of analysis concerns the rural communities, but still, especially when historic documents are involved, some specific and accurate discriminations are required. I also suggest an analysis of the field data recorded in urban areas, in order to see whether some rural customs are preserved in the modern urban Romanian society, as well as a more attentive reading of an up-to-date bibliography, because Roxana Deca has the abilities and the information to do such a work.

Alina Ioana CIOBĂNEL

Dionigi Albera: *Au fil des générations. Terre, pouvoire et parenté dans l'Europe alpine (XIVe-XXe siècles)* [Throughout Generations: Land, Power, and Kinship in the Alpine Europe]. La Pierre & l'Écrit collection, Grenoble : Presse Universitaire de Grenoble, 2011, 543 p., ISBN 978-2-7061-1688-9, ISSN 1248-9166.

The critical history of social and humanistic studies dedicated to a specific topic is expected to reveal the dynamics of the manners in which exegesis draws upon the genuine reality, and also to reflect (indirectly and fragmentarily) the large ideological context in which different meta-texts have been created and put in words. In the meantime, any topic has its own history, with or without connections with the academic literature that describes it, or, at least, tries to keep up with it.

In the case of the book I am presenting here, the author takes on the difficult challenge to catch both faces mentioned above, none of them being at all static. The institution of *family*, in connection with those of kinship, household, inheritance and transmission, has a special status and dynamics that brought it, at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, up to the moment of a possible turning point. Hence, there was a need for a synthesis over its *former* hypostases, which this book successfully fulfils, as regards the Alps Mountains and the time between the 16th and the 20th century.

The double goal of Dionigi Albera's research was to offer: "1. un perspective d'ensemble, et sur la longue durée, concernant la physionomie de l'organisation domestique dans l'Europe alpine (...); 2. De l'autre côté (...), un raisonnement comparative dont les implications théorique et méthodologiques peuvent aller au-delà du contexte alpin. Il constituent, en effet, une exploration sur la variation

d'échelle et sur le passage de la microhistoire à la macrohistoire"[1]. This approach claims for interrelated historical and anthropological data.

The modern phase of kinship and family research started in 1960, when the main activities were dedicated to data systematization related to family structures, in order to create a *history of the family* (p. 470). It was a time for comparative studies extended over large areas, based on generalization and on more or less static and statistic approaches of the relations within the family. The 1990s brought a new trend, focused on micro-history and on the micro-analytical dimension of facts and, implicitly, on avoiding generalization. In the meantime, the interest over family was enlarged with the one concerning kinship manifested also outside the space of cohabitation, with a long run perspective and with the goal of taking into consideration the historical dimension of behaviour. This is the large regard in which the reviewed book asserts its intermediate position, by creating and using the concept of domestic organization. "Nous nous focaliserons sur une dimension intermédiaire entre les liens de parenté et les structures familiales chères aux études comparatives menées dans le passé. Pour designer cette dimension intermédiaire nous aurons recours à la notion d'*organisation domestique*" (p. 7), defined as „un ensemble de relations mobilisé dans des activités concernant la résidence commune, la production, la distribution, la transmissions et la reproduction" (p. 47)[2].

I will first underline the selfinquiring structure of the book, which combines the inherent linear nature of the verbal exposure with the paradigmatic association of ideas, data, questions, possible answers, and with the *open* premises, in order to re-associate them during the investigation processes. Thus, one topic exposed at a moment reappears once or twice again, gaining more consistency. In this way, there are thought-provoking dialogic correspondences between different book parts and chapters.

The volume has four sections, preceded by the introduction pages – *Un parcours entre histoire et anthropologie* [A journey between history and anthropology]. A brief survey of their titles, together with those of the constituent chapters, could be suggestive for the nature of the multilevel investigations and for the magnitude of the research as well.

The first part, *Les recherches sur l'histoire de la famille et de la parenté en Europe* [Research on the history of family and kinship in Europe], is dedicated to a

[1] „1. An overview perspective, extended over a long time period, concerning the physiognomy of the domestic organization in alpine Europe (...); 2. secondly, a comparative reasoning of which theoretical and methodological implications would go beyond the Alpine context. Consequently, it consists of an exploration concerning the scale variation and the passage from the micro-history to the macro-history" (p. 5).

[2] "We shall focus on an intermediate dimension, placed between the kinship lines and the family structure favored by the comparative studies conducted in the past. To designate this intermediate dimension, we will use the concept of *domestic organization* (p. 7), defined as "a set of relationships involved in activities derived from common residence, production, distribution, transmission and reproduction" (p. 47).

critical endeavor, in which the author successively isolates ideas and concepts of the reviewed authors, in order to analyze them under the eyeglass of his own reflexivity and then to re-embed them in the context of the large history of family studies, corroborated with the genuine context in which the described phenomenon gets expression. Defining the terms in which he articulates the structural core of any comparative fabric, Dionigi Albera underlines the original and innovative precepts of *density, contextualization, control* and *reflexivity*. "Nous éviterons de nous server de concepts anthropologique ou sociologique préconfectionnés, en pratiquant plutôt une construction de concepts par le bas. Nous les dégagerons des contextes microlocaux, en effectuant par la suite un travail progressif d'élargissement de leur portée dans l'espace et dans le temps" (p. 54)[3].

In this regard, a large amount of case studies, each of them multi-contextualized, are re-launched into circulation, used and valorised as an ample field and monographic material excerpted from the bibliography dedicated to the Alpine Europe. Such manner of prospecting the extensive repertoire of theoretical and conceptual directions of research, together with the empirical data, claims for ingenuity and erudition, features that, in fact, characterize the entire book.

The second part, *Un cheminement dans l'anthropologie alpine: vers une typologie raisonnée* [A journey in the alpine anthropology: toward a critical typology], continues to explore the bibliographical, documentary references and fieldworks data, in order to identify "un ensemble de facteurs qui conditionnent les structures domestiques (environnement, démographie, histoire, économique, culturelle, politique) et effectué une mise à distance par rapport à certains stéréotypes concernant la montagne «arriérée» et «conservatrice»" (p. 80)[4]. Finally, the ample case studies – regarding the regions of Valais, Tyrol and Haut Varaïta – lead to the typological edifice.

There are three ideal types proposed. The first one, "Le type *Bauer* se caractérise comme une système de relations centrées sur la «ferme». L'unité sociale fondamentale est le domaine transmis indivis d'une génération à l'autre"[5]. The second one: „le type bourgeois" [the bourgeois type], is described by features like: „la proprieté n'est pas au centre du système. (...) La transmission des patrimoines est caractérisée par une égalité bilatérale"[6]. The third one, „le type

[3] "We will avoid using anthropological and sociological prefabricated concepts, but rather would construct the concepts from the bottom. We will disengage them from the micro-local contexts, throughout a progressive work of enlarging their scope in space and times."

[4] "... a set of factors which determines the domestic structures – environmental, demographic, historical, economical, cultural, political – and to take distance to some stereotypes about the *backward* and *conservative* mountains".

[5] "The *Bauer* type is characterized as a system of relations focused on the *farm*. The social fundamental unit is represented by the land transmitted undivided from one generation to the other".

[6] "The property land is not in the centre of the system (...). The heritage transmission is characterized by a sort of bilateral equality".

agnatique alpin: la transmission des propriétés privilégie les descendants masculins, tandis que les filles sont dotées"[7] (p. 154-155).

The profiles of the three types and especially the features that have been combined in order to describe each type suggest the coherence between the domestic structures, the family domain, and the judicial and political practices, which all together confer a particular physiognomy to different territories (p. 489).

The configuration of these three types includes the parameter of the inter-human relationships established between family members, between families, and those established inside the neighbouring community. In this regard, since the confessional appurtenance moulds the individual and the community behaviour, I would rather suggest further discussions on the role it certainly plays in the crystallization process of all the *family* types. As a consequence, it may be included in further comparative endeavours. At its turn, the spiritual component of kinship, namely the godparent and the sponsorship institutions, is to be brought into deeper attention when speaking about domestic organization (it is to note that at page 140 the author describes such a system, worthy of further elaborations).

An important space in the author's attention is dedicated to the relevance of the abstract models created and transmitted by anthropologists and ethnologists with reference to the concrete practices involved in the domestic and inheritance organization systems. This is the frame in which the question of geographic determinism is put forward here. Obviously, for humans the inhabited environment represents both a resource for living and a natural challenge, which gets cultural dimensions. It is a truism, too, to assert that environment is neither the unique, nor the most important factor which moulds the cultural and social behaviour. But, as it often happens, the evidence has to be demonstrated and detailed. In the case of the institution of inheritance, Dionigi Albera demonstrates the existence of a *feeble determinism* (his concept). Which means that under similar geographic conditions, yet in different regions, the entire heritage can be transmitted either to a single descendant (the male, the older), or can be equally shared to each genitors. Both of them (with mixed variants) have been attested as working in alpine areas (see also chapter VII, VIII). In fact, from this evidence several fundamental interrelated questions arise. First: how and in which terms could the differences between communities that inhabit very similar types of environment be explained? Second: are there differences invariables, and where to find them, and how could one put these differences/different cases together as to obtain a consistent typology?

I appreciate as a correct and strong precept, the author's constant effort of identifying the abstract models only in relations with the concrete cases – that work as variants, if we use a folkloristic term. This favours a comparative process that is not a simple juxtaposition of de-contextualised elements. Moreover, and as a

[7] „The alpine agnate type: the system of transmitting the land works in favor of the male progeny, whereas the daughters are given a dowry".

consequence of contextualization, the typology proposed by the author (titled *contextual typology* – p. 151) aims to integrate the relational dimension between the elements that constitute the context. The main goal for such a systematization of a huge amount of material is to find a way for operating with so high diversity of situations and, in the meantime, to use diversity in order to escape from the danger of beforehand generalizations and (abusive) premise for any geographic determinism. Defining each type, the author creates a network of interrelated parameters, which includes habitat, residence, social and economical stratification, communication with the external from beyond the domestic relationships.

The third section, *De la typologie au modèle dynamique; un tour d'horizon comparative* [From the typology to the dynamic model; a comparative overview], starts testing the formalized three types structure, through searching its validity over extended areas in the Alps' milieus, and by integrating them into the regional and larger historical process as well. The correlations between kinship and inheritance, on the one hand, and the centralization mechanisms and specificity of the administrative, territorial and political states, on the other hand, have a major importance.

I give just one example, excerpted from the Oriental Alps (chapter X), mainly characterized by the occurrence of the *Bauer* type and of the indivisible heritage. This situation may be explained by the fact that generally, in the Austrian alpine regions, the lordship dominance lasted up to the modern times, being also consolidated by State interventions (such as the law imposed during Maria Theresa's reign, when the division of the peasant's property had been forbidden). In this context, the particular physiognomy of the Tyrolese domestic organisation (marked by the share of property!) could be explained by the higher degree of autonomy – than in other regions of the Austrian Alps – obtained during centuries by the peasants before their landlords. In this regard, the Tyrol looks as a region of transition between the western and eastern parts of the Alps chain.

The fourth section, *Continuities et transformations dans les Alpes françaises* [Continuity and changes in the French Alps], tests the longitudinal (temporal axes) applicability of the typology forged in the previous chapters. It brings under investigation the opinion according to which *la famille souche* (as famously defined by Le Play) – i.e. the stem family – represents the most archaic type in all mountain areas of Europe. In this regard, the comparison between the French and the Italian versants of the North Alps (the Savoy former duchy) exposes the historical processes through which different types of domestic organizations (especially an agnatic pre-eminence of the region during the times) got new hypostases inside the same space (chapter XVII). On the contrary, the composite situation in High Provence, where the agnatic orientation works in combination with *Bauer* type's accents (chapter XVIII) enables the author to take into account the possibility of finding there the incipit for enlarging the classification with a possible forth type. The examination of the South Alps (chapter XIX) reveals the

same process of transition from the dominant agnatic type towards the one characterized by intergenerational inequality and unique inheritor. Similar processes took place, during the 17th and 18th centuries, in a specific sector of the Dauphine mountains; such changes in the domestic organization system towards the one of the unique inheritor makes the subject for the 20th chapter. Enlarging the geographic area, the same successive and multi-layer changes that describe the dynamics from agnatic inheritance to the system of the unique successor, also characterized the South-East France (the Midi areas). The discussion here underlines the influence of the nobility, whose seigniorial practice worked as a model to the other social categories. The next chapter investigates how the historical events – marked by the year 1789 – caused divergent consequences upon the domestic organization and inheritance systems in different areas. The studied cases are Briançon – here the general Alpine tendency towards agnatic orientation is explained by the pressure of the new laws, the development of local industry and emigration as well – and Queyras, whose more and more composite social structures due to emigration and intermarriage practices led to a transition toward the preponderance of the unique successor inheritance system.

Briefly, through the forth section of the book, Dionigi Albera's elaborated historical anthropological and geographical approach opens the way to go beyond the former static representation of the French Alps as a region where, for centuries, the *souche*/stem family was the unique system of domestic organization. As demonstrated by Albera, on the contrary, during centuries, the Alps were configured as a crossroad of different domestic practices (p. 494).

The *Conclusion* delivers a synthetic review of the entire book, also offering suggestions for coordinates to be explored by further historical and comparative researches. Starting from the similarities I detected between certain areas in the Alps and certain areas in the Romanian Carpathians (attached to agnatic or to variants of the *Bauer* type), I wonder if and how the Albera's tripartite typology may be used or expanded for comparative studies concerning other mount chains in Europe, too. As about the Carpathian chain, the current ethnological premise claims unity and homogeneity; revisited from Albera's finds, at least the institution of family, kinship, household, inheritance and transmission, as well as their yet unexplored diversity, might get unexpected results.

In Albera's book one deals with a vigorous, original, dense, instructive and influential research. It delivers, organizes and re-organizes a thick corpus of bibliographic and fieldwork data (some of them being difficult to access otherwise), case studies, synthesis, and comments. It proposes a typology and puts it to work during comparative analyses, all of them expressed through a remarkable clarity that, together with the ability to find adequate words, grants a challenging and agreeable lecture.

Laura JIGA ILIESCU

Paula Popoiu: *Antropologia Dobrogei / Dobruja Anthropology*. Craiova: Editura Universitaria, 2010, 608 p., ISBN 978-606-510-959-9.

Dobrogea entered relatively late in the researchers' interest sphere. After the publishing of great works (printed under the aegis of the Romanian Academy): *Dobrogea – 50 de ani de viață românească* (1928) or *La Dobroudja. Connaisance de la terre et de la pensée roumaines* (1938), as well as of smaller works, by Al. Arbore (1919), Th. Burada (1880), Th. Capidan (1926), L. Colescu (1905), and of the papers concerning special themes (settlements, population, architecture, costume) published after 1950, the apparition of a book dedicated to Dobrogean anthropology is a special event.

The book is based on a field research done for ten years in most of the Dobrogea villages, as well as on documents and information found in a multitude of less researched sources or local archives. The study from the anthropological perspective of the traditional habitat, with special reference to the two basic components (the settlement and the architecture), was made based on the monographic method used by the Sociological School of Bucharest. The monographic method was complemented by the elaboration of new work instruments imposed by data collection from the field and their subsequent translation in an informational system. The method that was used, the triple investigation line, the one of the bibliography, the direct observation and the comparison, allowed the author to build a vast corpus of information data.

Taking into account the unequal value of the Dobrogea vernacular architecture, the research recorded most of the constructions built during 1877-1950, when the author considered the period of crystallisation of the Dobrogean traditional architectural models ended.

From all researched villages the author chose a number of settlements that were representative from the *geographical and historical diversity* point of view, with implications in the evolution of the rural landscape, of the *ethnical diversity* and *identity maintaining* with respect to the „cultural model" of the inhabitancy continuity. Based on the three mentioned criteria, the information was put in three important chapters: (1) the habitat and its evolution in given historical and geographical conditions; (2) the architecture and settlement in the Danube Valley; (3) the monographic research of architecture in villages with mixed population. Thus, the author manages to follow the cultural unity with the Romanian territory on the left side of the Danube, the origin and evolution of modern settlements, the population circulation and the rewriting of the demographical history of villages formed in the 18th and 19th centuries, the formation and evolution of architectural models according to the economical and social conditions and to the community mental (ethnical, traditional, individual) of social representation.

In the publication is also presented the comparative study of:

- the territorial ethnical-demographical issues through the analysis of the population circulation with direct reference to spontaneous or organised colonisations, the movement of population to and from the Romanian territories over the Danube, the frequent depopulation situations until our days;
- the evolution of the rural landscape in the habitat modelling and remodelling conditions during various time periods;
- the contribution to tradition development of each ethnic group that inhabited the north of Dobrogea and the presentation of the architectural models that are characteristic to the area;
- the cultural complexity and heterogeneity in a contact area, presented in the dominant Romanian background.

The analysis of the data assembled in geographical, archaeological and cultural diachronic context was necessary in order to present the recent history of the Northern Dobrogea, and imposed by the characteristics of the rural society of the area, since it evolved in complex, singularised, social and historical conditions (if it were to compare to other ethnographic areas in the country). Placed between the Tsarist Empire and the Ottoman Empire, the Dobrogea territory formed a true alleyway in which the wars between the two provoked dramatic breaches in the inhabitancy and imbalances in the natural evolution of the rural population. As a result of adverse conditions, in the villages in the north of Dobrogea, characterised by mixed inhabitancy and/or involved in the population exchange in 1940, when the Southern Dobrogea was ceded, the oldest rural buildings kept in the field are dated just by the end of the 19th century.

As for the typological and anthropological architecture analysis, the author highlights that the folk builders' "programmes" are determined by the cultural models established according to the standards of a tradition passed from generation to generation, that took into account conditionings imposed by the site, the technique development level, the social conventions and inhabitancy customs. According to their own laws, the vernacular architecture builders did not legislate, did not issue rules. They built and lived their art without explaining it. In their languages used their own grammar, their messages being enciphered and deciphered through codes they knew well. In order to preserve their meaning for the next generations, to keep more than fragments from the rich inherited cultural reality, the explanation of the actual situation of the Dobrogea architecture was needed. The author succeeded to do this, for a much appreciated domain that was not given enough attention.

Different population groups, Romanian, Germans, Italians, Turks, Tatars, Lippovans, who shared the same habitat for centuries, gave birth to an architecture of a formula in which the contribution and originality of each of them can be described, in the acculturation process that took place. Beyond this, each ethnic

group used and preserved the three room house that is still considered the nucleus of the "Dobrogea house" that became traditional. Certain ethnical groups with common origins, Germans, Turks, Tatars, Ukrainians and Lippovans, also preserved certain established unity cultural traits in the architecture.

The direct observation, followed by the monographic analysis with focus on the anthropos and its connection with the ecosystem, imposed the village monographs. In the second part of the work, as "case studies", the monographs of Trestenic, Frecăţei, Nicolae Bălcescu, Cataloi and Ciucurova villages are presented. Through comparison, the author highlights both the specificity of the cohabiting groups and their collaboration at the level of a single settlement. The micro-monographic research considered some important criteria: *the village structure in the social and community system, the structure of the household and the house as a family-individual inhabitancy unit, the local specificity of the system (village-household-house), the role of anthropos in establishing the features of the settlement and the house, of the cultivated space and the dwelling space in historical evolution.*

Through micro-monographic research, the comparison established the specific of a certain habitat dwelled by a diverse population, whose customs of territorial insertion lead in the end to the birth of the "Dobrogea intercultural model". The approach of the matter from this point of view allowed Paula Popoiu to go beyond the sequential approaches of geographers, sociologists or ethnographers, to create a perspective view over rural Dobrogea, to highlight the originality of a synthetic folk culture to which European and Eastern elements contributed.

Words are hard to find in order to write about Dobrogea, after reputed specialists Grigore Antipa, Al. Arbore, I. Barnea, Ionescu Ion de la Brad, S. Mehedinţi, V. Mihăilescu, P. Petrescu, P. Stahl, G. Vâlsan and others did. It is hard, but not useless, because each of them analysed certain aspects from their specialty point of view. The historians analysed the archaeological vestiges, the historical facts and events, the geographers, looked toward the landscape, vegetation and weather, others studied the settlements or occupations. Paula Popoiu's work is unique in the specialized literature because it analyses the assembly of the problems related to the history of villages in Northern Dobrogea, with focus on the anthropos. Starting from the idea of explaining the connection man–nature and man–culture in the Dobrogean space, the whole territory was researched, on many aspects, with focus on the settlement and architecture.

The author does not stop at the scientific conclusions regarding the proposed themes, but takes a step towards the pragmatic aspects of inventory, mapping, setting a data corpus concerning the vernacular architecture monuments built between 1877 and 1950, preserved at the moment of research. For this, a real advocacy is made for saving the vernacular heritage, by demonstrating that the disappearance of the cultural values based on tradition leads to an identity crisis

that cannot be solved by replacing the inherent values with imported ones. The plea for preserving the vernacular architecture closes with the plea to make a repertory that will cover the whole country.

Based on an impressive corpus data, on their interpretation in a new vision, the work contributes to a good knowledge of Northern Dobrogea. Beyond the technical data that the readers will notice I would like to note for this vision an aspect, the one of the connection between the population structure, the economical structure and the dramatic historical events on the Dobrogea territory that lead to the creation of the Dobrogea intercultural model.

Tangible cultural good, as we call the vernacular architecture, it is, like the other cultural goods, a social contact element, a communication between men, a mark through which the man can be recognised. The architecture differentiates and puts together. It is a sign of the solidarity of the ones that are part of a community, no matter the ethnical group.

Written in an elegant style, the work will be read with pleasure by anyone who wants to know more about the past of one of the most agitated regions in Romania. The rich illustration of the text with archival or more recent pictures, with a large number of plates, a rich bibliography and two annexes, contribute to the scientific value of the work. If published in exceptional graphic conditions and fully translated in English, the book will be read abroad also.

Georgeta STOICA

Vivian Dragomir: *Conservarea şi restaurarea arhitecturii vernaculare / The Conservation and Restoration of Vernacular Architecture*. Craiova: Editura Universitaria, 2012, 416 p., ISBN 978-606-14-0479-7.

This work was coordinated by Vivian Dragomir (engineer, former head of conservation-restoration laboratory, Patrimony Director with the "Dimitrie Gusti" National Village Museum), having Laurenţiu Dragomir (ethnographic monuments restorer, wood restorer expert, president of the National Technical Committee ASRO–Conservation of Cultural Goods) in the collective. And it also has prestigious referents: Paula Popoiu (assoc. prof., general manager of the "Dimitrie Gusti" National Village Museum, president of the Association of Open Air Museums in Romania), and Sergiu Nistor (assoc. prof. with the "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism in Bucharest, president of the Romanian National Committee of the ICOMOS).

Published in a bilingual edition, the book bears the fruit of over 15 years of activity on the part of the authors, all experts in the ethnographic heritage conservation and restoration within the National Village Museum, as well as the training of museum specialists and promoting the European working standards for heritage conservation in Romania. It is a synthetic work, among the few published

in Romania on this subject, based on a scientific approach and knowledge of both the Romanian vernacular heritage and the most up-to-date information about its conservation and restoration.

The book has five chapters: *Short history of the traditional buildings in Romania*; *Structures, building techniques: building materials*; *Vernacular architecture conservation and restoration principles*; *Diagnostic and intervention solutions*; *Conservation and restoration methodology: working standards*.

Subjects such as the history of vernacular architecture evolution within Romanian territory are presented, as well as building techniques and materials, in order to understand their long-term behaviour and to adopt the most correct preservation methods. One can read here about the most important building types, execution details created by the ingenious master builders (with high quality photo samples), and detailed information on the importance of following the restoration principles. Essential issues consist of the scientific knowledge of the characteristics of the materials, such as wood and its forms of degradation, of the required investigation methods, of the protection and restoration actions in the context of current trends in the conservation of this type of patrimony.

The study was intended to provide as complete and proficient as possible a perspective, becoming useful both to people working with this type of heritage (museographers, conservators, restorers), and to the public wishing to know deeper the elements of the Romanian vernacular architecture, of its merits in the current context of chaotic civilisation development, and of the necessity to preserve it over time and pass it on to the future. It is a comprehensive scientific work on the subject of built ethnographic heritage, a plea for its value, and a reference book for the preservation of the Romanian traditional architecture and for revealing it to the reader. The conservation and restoration of vernacular architecture has been the subject of insufficient research, which at any rate overlooked the perspectives of synthesis, principles or method. The bilingual publication of the present study represents an additional advantage, considering the fact that the main subject of the work has been internationally investigated with regard to the specificity of building provenance areas, which in the vernacular field stands for the essential and defining factor.

The study is richly illustrated with photographs originating both from archives and authors, taken during different stages of investigations or restoration interventions. It also features an ample bibliography (studies, archives, internal and international documents, norms, and especially international heritage-related standards adopted in Romania thanks to the direct implication of authors), as well as technical annexes. These offer an important amount of support to the specialists that work in ethnographic architectural heritage conservation and restoration projects, to those in higher education, but also to the public with special interest for the subject, a great part of whom owns such valuable items of vernacular architecture.

Ioana Gabriela DUICU

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in folk narratives, life stories, winter and spring seasonal ceremoniality from rural regions, trance and extatic experiences in the Romanian peasant society, popular magic, the peasant cult of Holy Virgin and its pilgrimages in Transcarpathia, Transylvania and Banat regions, the funeral rural culture and the rites of passage. As historian of religions, he is using historical-religious methodology as a vessel for exploring long-concealed archaic strata, otherwise unnoticed by modern eye. His papers aim to reveal this subalternal culture, proving that the most profound structures of continuity across Europe's religious history are to be best found at the level of popular cultures, with their whole body of subsequent religiosity. Email: bogdan_neagota@yahoo.it; bogdan.neagota@gmail.com.

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